[redacted]



DUKE UNIVERSITY
DURHAM, N. C.

Rec'd December 14, 1935
Library Budget
Fund

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Duke University Libraries

https://archive.org/details/homericessays01shew

HOMERIC ESSAYS

ALEXANDER SHEWAN

HOMERIC ESSAYS

By ALEXANDER SHEWAN, M.A., LL.D.

BASIL BLACKWELL · OXFORD
1935

883.
H766ZSH

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE KEMP HALL PRESS
IN THE CITY OF OXFORD

TO THE MEMORY
OF
ANDREW LANG

ΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΕΑΙ ΖΩΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΗΔΟΝΕΣ

24226

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	ix
Contractions	xiii
Section I Ithaka	
Preliminary Note	1
1. Leukas-Ithaka	1
2. *Beati Possidentes Ithakistae*	18
3. Asteris and the Voyage of Telemachus	29
4. Asteris and Dulichium	49
5. Asteris	65
6. Ithaka	65
7. Leukas-Samé	69
8. The Ithakan Problem Again	79
9. Ithakan Origins	79
10. Alt-Ithaka	80
11. Low-lying Ithaka	85
12. Nerikos	90
Section II *Homer and History*	
Preliminary Note	103
1. Review of *Homer and History*	106
2. The Dominion of Peleus	112
3. The Assembly at Aulis—I	116
4. The Assembly at Aulis—II	121
5. The Kingship of Agamemnon	126
6. *ΠΟΛΥΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΜΥΚΗΝΗ*	135
7. The Military Roads of Agamemnon	150
8. Review of *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*	152
9. *Homer and History* and *The Catalogue of Ships*	158
10. Mycenaean Corinth	175
11. Meges and Dulichium	180
Section III *The Rise of the Greek Epic*	
Preliminary Note	197
1. The Katharsis of Homer	212

24226

PAGE

2. Suspected Flaws in Homeric Similes 217
3. Andrew Lang's Work for Homer 228

Section IV Scheria

Preliminary Note 242
1. The Scheria of the *Odyssey*—I 242
2. The Scheria of the *Odyssey*—II 253
3. Scheria-Corcyra—I 268
4. Scheria-Corcyra—II 282
5. Atlantis and Scheria 293

Section V The Language and Verse

1. The Oneness of the Homeric Language 296
2. The Fourth Foot of the Homeric Hexameter 311
3. Narrative and Speech Scansion 318
4. Correption in Homeric Speech and Narrative 328
5. Hiatus in Homeric Verse 330
6. Professor Bolling on the Homeric *Abstracta*, etc. 341
7. The Digamma and 'Position' 345
8. Tritotrochaics 347
9. Enclitics 349
10. The Digamma in Homeric Criticism 351

Section VI The Repetitions

Preliminary Note 357
1. Wilamowitz on Θ 357
2. The 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey*—B Imitation 368
3. Repetition in Homer and Tennyson 373
4. The Homeric Repetitions again 381

Section VII Miscellaneous

1. Telemachus at Sparta 393
2. Homer and Recent Discoveries 400
3. Review of Leaf's *Troy* 419
4. Hissarlik 421
5. Hittite Names 423
6. Fishing with a Rod in Homer 427
7. The Spear 441
8. On Translations of Homer 443
9. Samuel Butler and Homer 445

PREFACE

My reasons for venturing on the republication of these papers are three. First, it has been urged on me by Homeric friends who would like to have the matter in them more easily accessible. Secondly, some of the views expressed, especially the conclusion about Scheria, seem to me to be worth more attention than they have received. And thirdly and chiefly, I think the references which the papers contain to the relevant Homeric literature, and which have been collected by much laborious research, may be useful to other Homeric inquirers. To this end the Index has been made very full, and I hope it will prove useful, especially to junior students and newcomers in the Homeric field, by collecting and grouping information for them and guiding them to sources which they have not yet explored.

I must apologize at once to them and other readers for the prolixity and the repetition that will be observed, and can only plead in extenuation the weakness of old age, which has prevented me from recasting the contents of the volume in a more conveniently readable form.

Just after the middle of last century, as Dr. Farnell has recently remarked,[1] when Schliemann began to excavate, 'the German scholarship of the day was still in the quagmire,' and it was Schliemann who 'contributed more than any of his countrymen to the saner and truer interpretation of the Homeric world.' The view opened up by that early explorer has been steadily widened by the work of many eminent successors, with the result of an ever increasing respect on the part of archaeologists generally for the Homeric poems as the trustworthy record of an age. And this by the end of last century was beginning to have so marked an effect on the destructive criticism of the poems that had become so popular, that a reaction set in against its methods even in Germany, the place of its origin. 'There it is, whether we like it or not' was the candid admission of one German authority, when this recovery was established.

[1] *An Oxonian looks back*, p. 183.

The present century has seen this better spirit continue, and any one who has watched the steady decline in the output of books, pamphlets and articles published in the interest of Homeric disintegration during the last fifty years, knows how great is the change that has taken place. And that makes more conspicuous three remarkable heresies, as many regard them, that have been started since this century began. They form the subject of three sets of essays in the present volume—the Leukas-Ithaka theory of Dörpfeld, Dr. Leaf's onslaught on the *Catalogue* in the *Iliad*, and Professor Murray's explanation of the formation of the Homeric cosmos mainly through age-long and somewhat fortuitous agglomeration. The papers in a fourth set had for their object to question the conception, popular since Welcker's well-known essay, of Scheria as in fairyland. The evidence from the *Odyssey* had been, it seemed to me, misappreciated on many points. And further, it appeared to be high time that account should be taken of the view which, thanks to the archaeologists and the results they have achieved, we are privileged to enjoy of the Mediterranean in the end of the second millennium B.C., and of intercourse between East and West at that period. The other papers in the volume require no particular notice here.

I have to thank the editors of the various classical periodicals in which the articles appeared for permission to republish them, and the University Court of St. Andrews and the Oxford University Press for allowing me to reproduce part of the Andrew Lang Lecture for 1929.

This being my last contribution to the study of Homer, I permit myself a word of farewell to an old and faithful friend. I have told elsewhere, in a history of my old school, a small private school in the Chanonry (Canonry) under the shadow of the Cathedral in Old Aberdeen, how my interest in and love for Homer were born in it just seventy years ago, and were due to the fostering care of a teacher far in advance of his age.[1] Himself a fine classical scholar, he sought to imbue his pupils with a love for Greek, and to that end would read and expound to us from time to time the choicest passages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and—a very wise part of his

[1]Henry Martin Barker, LL.D. (Glasgow). One of his pupils and my contemporary at school was Sir William Ramsay, the famous explorer of Asia Minor.

scheme—encouraged us to learn occasionally a few strong-winged lines by heart. Close contact with the poetry had come, to the great delight of some of us at any rate, by our introduction to the *Games* in the 23rd *Iliad*, and I record here my gratitude for having been thus taught in my early days to know and appreciate such treasures, and for the lifelong joy they have given me.

O tristitiae vitaeque laborum dulce lenimen!

Seagate, St. Andrews.

A. SHEWAN.

P.S. As I am on the point of returning final proofs of this book to press, I learn—from the *Periodical* for April, 1935—of the publication of a fourth edition of the *RGE*.

A.S.

CONTRACTIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
AP	*Anthologia Palatina.*
Ar	Aristarchus.
B ph W	*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History.*
CGS	*Companion to Greek Studies*[3].
CJ	*Classical Journal.*
CW	*Classical Weekly.*
Ench	van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium Dictionis Epicae*[2].
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.*
H and A	Lang, *Homer and his Age.*
H and E	Lang, *Homer and the Epic.*
H and I	Stawell, *Homer and the Iliad.*
HG	*Homeric Grammar*[2].
HS	*Harvard Studies.*
HU	*Homerische Untersuchungen.*
LAA	*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.*
Légende	Croiset, *La Légende Primitive d'Ulysse.*
Life	Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age.*
L of D	Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon.*
MP	*Mediterranean Pilot.*
NJbb	*Neue Jahrbücher.*
OCG	Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece.*
ΠΑΤΡΙΣ	Paulatos, *Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΩΣ.*
Ph et Od	Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée.*
PhQ	*Philological Quarterly.*
PhW	*Philologische Wochenschrift.*
Prehc. Thess.	Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly.*
QH	*Quaestiones Homericae.*
QR	*Quarterly Review.*
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement.*
W kl Ph	*Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.*
W of H	Lang, *World of Homer.*
YW	*Year's Work in Classical Studies.*

SECTION I

ITHAKA

It is necessary to say but little by way of introduction to the papers on this subject. The first five paragraphs of 'Alt-Ithaka' (pp. 80 post) summarize what appear to be insuperable objections to the Dörpfeldian view. That view could hardly have obtained a hearing but for difficulty which had been felt on three points—the want of havens *now* on the islet Daskalio, the scarcity of information in the poems as to Dulichium, and the interpretation of the lines ι 21ff. These points are dealt with in detail in the papers included in the present section. In regard to Dulichium reference should also be made to the paper 'Meges and Dulichium' to be found in the section 'Homer and History.'

LEUKAS-ITHAKA

JHS XXXIV (1914)

It was in 1900 that Dr. Dörpfeld[1] first proclaimed, to the German Institute at Athens, that Leukas and not Thiaki was the Ithaka of Homer. In 1902 he read to the *Archäologische Gesellschaft* of Berlin a paper on the subject, which in 1903 was published in *Mélanges Perrot*. To this paper Wilamowitz gave a scathing and even contemptuous reply in 1903, and Dörpfeld rejoined in his *Leukas*, 1905, which also contains his original essay. Since then the controversy has raged without intermission, but it has been almost confined to Germany. This country has not so far contributed any comprehensive paper on the subject, and it would not be easy, so many are the matters that the dispute embraces, and so warm and minute has the discussion become, to prepare a

[1] Draheim had really anticipated him, in a review of Jebb's *Homer* in *WklPh* 1894, 63 ff.

statement with less than a considerable volume at one's disposal. I therefore propose to confine myself here to one of the points in the controversy, and I select that which the Leukadists, as they are called for short, regard as supplying the best evidence in their favour, and which is consequently noticed in nearly all papers and treatises on the subject. This includes the incident of the return voyage of Telemachus from Pylos to Ithaka, his escape from the ambush laid for him by the Wooers at the island Homer calls Asteris, and the identification of that island on the modern map.

A sketch map accompanies, on which, to avoid confusion, the localities are described, for reference in this paper, by their modern names.



The Leukadists affirm that Asteris is to be found in the island of Arkoudi, believed by some to be the Krokyleia of

B 633, which lies, or can be said to lie, between the north coast of Thiaki and the south of Leukas. The Ithakists contend that Asteris is the rock Daskalio near the east coast of Cefalonia, in the strait between that island and Thiaki, and opposite the bay, still preserving the name of Polis, on or near which they place the capital of Ithaka according to the *Odyssey*. Croiset seems to receive no support for his suggestion (*Légende*, 20) of Atoko, west of the north coast of Thiaki, though Goessler (*B ph W* 1912, 355), in condemning it because too large, forgets that the objection applies to his own Arkoudi, which is about the same size as Atoko. Mr. Samuel Butler, who thinks (note, in his *Translation of the Odyssey*, to ι 26) Nausikaa conceived Telemachus' voyage as from Pylos to Trapani, does not appear to deal with the position of Asteris.

The evidence for identification groups itself about certain points, the first of which is, where were the νῆσοι θοαί (or Θοαί) of ο 299?

Early in ο Athené directs Telemachus to return home. She warns him that the Wooers have laid an ambush at Asteris; therefore he is to sail by night, to keep away from the islands (ἑκὰς νήσων), and to land on the nearest shore (πρώτη ἀκτή) of Ithaka. She does not mention the νῆσοι θοαί; the poet does so when describing the ship's run. If we accept Dr. Monro's rearrangement of ο 295-300, Telemachus sails at sunset and heads for Phea, passes 'Krounoi and Chalkis,'[1] coasts along Elis, and then—ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῇσιν, ο 299. Which islands are meant?

Some think, Leukadists and Ithakists alike, that θοός is simply to be taken as 'swift,' νῆσοι θοαί being islands that glide swiftly by as a vessel passes them. So, for instance, Merry, Pierron, and Gröschl. Goessler gives *sich bewegend* or even *hellleuchtend*. Monro and Hayman, on the other hand, refuse to regard the rendering seriously, and surely 'he steered his course for the swiftly gliding islands' is an absurdity.[2] And of course this interpretation does not help us to identify the islands.

Dr. Monro, in his note on ο 299 f., written in or before 1901, and so *ante litem motam*, finds it 'on the whole likely'

[1]Small streams south of the Alpheus (Sikes and Allen on *Hym. Ap.* 425).

[2]The interpretation might be justified if θοός were a standing *epitheton ornans* of νῆσος. But common as νῆσος is, the combination does not recur.

that the islands are the three always associated with the Homeric Ithaka, *viz.* *Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος* *i.e.* in his view, Dulichium (wherever it may be), Cefalonia, and Zanté. But he frankly 'leaves *θοῇσιν* unexplained,' and the usual interpretation, 'which has satisfied many scholars' (that the *νῆσοι θοαί* are the Echinades), practically undiscussed. Nor does he explain which islands Athené means Telemachus to 'keep his ship away from.' If, after leaving the shores of the Peloponnesus, Telemachus makes at once for the big islands to the north-west, there are no islands for him to avoid.

The Leukadists identify the *νῆσοι θοαί* with the Montague Rocks,[1] following Bérard (*Ph. et Od.* i 138 ff.), who describes them from the *Instructions Nautiques*, and with the help of an extract from the chart, as a line of rocks, about a mile in length, covered in these days with water to a depth of about thirteen to thirty feet, and lying a little to the north of west of the middle point of the coast between C. Glarenza and C. Trepito.[2] And Telemachus' fear, expressed o 300 (he made for the *νῆσοι θοαί*) *ὁρμαίνων ἤ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἦ κεν ἁλώῃ*, is that he may stick (*rester pris*) on these rocks. But all this is extremely doubtful.[3] First, the interpretation of *ἁλώῃ* is new and against all authority. And see *ξ* 183 f. Secondly, if these rocks, 'presumably visible in ancient times' (Dörpfeld, *Leukas*, p. v., followed by Goessler), were a danger to mariners, why should Telemachus not rather steer clear of them? Thirdly, Telemachus has been coasting along Elis from the south. The first three words of o 299, *ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῇσιν*, evidently mean that now comes a change; he leaves the coast. But by this time he must be past C. Trepito and some way up to C. Glarenza. That is, he is at or nearly abreast of the Montague Rocks. What then is the sense of o 299? Why should Telemachus strike away to the west in the direction of these rocks? For what, Michael asks (*Heimat des Odysseus*, 31), do they serve as a *Richtungspunkt?* Dörpfeld says, *l.c.*, they are admirably suited as a point to be made for by a ship from Pylos going outside,

[1] Bérard has since admitted that his identification was a gross error.

[2] Exact position given by Gruhn, *Kyklopen u. Phäaken*, 60, as 37° 54′ N., and 21° E.

[3] The Rocks are accepted by Mr. Agar, *Homerica*, 266, admitting *θοός* = 'sharp, pointed.' But Telemachus' fear, he insists, is not of shipwreck, as Bérard thinks, but of capture by the Wooers.

i.e. to the west of Cefalonia, as he formerly thought was Telemachus' course to Leukas. But he no longer believes that, and so the making for the rocks is meaningless. Fourthly, if the poet means the Montague Rocks, he has described the commencement of the voyage and left all the rest out. We must also assume with Dörpfeld that the rocks were in those days above water, i.e. that they have since sunk or that the sea has since risen. These are possibilities which both sides admit. The region is *Erdbebenland*, one in which earthquakes are not uncommon. In Zanté 'earthquakes are frequent and at times disastrous' (*Encycl. Brit. s.v.*) But I need not quote authorities on a point which is generally admitted,[1] or regarding the possibility of erosion. Even accepting these rocks as a then visible obstruction to navigation, Telemachus' heading for them is unintelligible.

The Ithakists' view is as old as Strabo. It makes the *νῆσοι Θοαί* the Echinades, off the mouth of the Achelous. Telemachus, if he returned the way he had come, would, when leaving the Peloponnesian coast, shape his course for the south-east end of Cefalonia and sail up its east coast and along the strait to Polis. But warned by Athené he keeps away from Cefalonia, makes what Paulatos[2] calls a *λοξοδρόμησις*, heads for the Echinades and, as he is nearing them, cuts across to the south end of Thiaki mentioned by Athené as *πρώτην ἀκτὴν Ἰθάκης*, where he lands in the bay of S. Andrea unobserved by the Wooers, who are cruising in the strait.

The difficulties here are first, that Athené says nothing about the Echinades; but that is not a great matter. Next, the run across from them to Thiaki is not described, but that is a much smaller omission than has, as we have seen, to be assumed in the case of the Montague Rocks. Thirdly, the Leukadists contest the identification with the Echinades. In the *Catalogue*, B 625, these are not called *νῆσοι Θοαί* but *Ἐχῖναι*. That is in the description of the realm of Meges, who rules the men *ἐκ Δουλιχίοιο Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων, νήσων αἳ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλὸς Ἤλιδος ἄντα*. But where is Dulichium? That has always been a crux. It has been found in Dolicha, now Makri, an island off the mouth of the Achelous; in an island, now part of the mainland, east of Makri; in Meganisi, east of Leukas; in Cefalonia; in the west part of Cefalonia; in

[1] But see von Marées in *N Jbb.* xvii 236.

[2] In his *Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΩΣ*.

Leukas; it has even been said to be now at the bottom of the sea. Cefalonia and Leukas are decidedly the favourites, and opinion is about equally divided between them. I hazard the suggestion that Leukas will prevail eventually.[1] In that case, if the *Catalogue* means to give Meges a continuous realm—as Mr. Allen, *l.c.* 306, seems to understand—the Echinae must include the islands between Leukas and the Achelous, and the *νῆσοι Θοαί* would be the group of rocky islets, certainly 'pointed' in form, at the extreme south of the line, and looking towards Elis. This is a possible and satisfactory explanation of the difference in nomenclature. In the *Catalogue* the poet is describing the long line; he is the Geographer for the nonce. In the *Odyssey* he merely mentions the southern end which he requires for his story.

But there is positive ground for this identification. Strabo accepted it, and has been followed by many authorities[2], as Monro admits. He wrote (viii 3 26), *θοὰς δὲ εἴρηκε τὰς ὀξείας· τῶν Ἐχινάδων δ' εἰσὶν αὗται, πλησιάζουσαι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀχελῴου.* These islands have most of them become part of the mainland, but the old name survives in one of them, still an island and now called Oxia. But is the equation *θοός* = *ὀξύς* correct? In other words, did *θοός* ever bear the meaning 'pointed'? For a full discussion Gustav Lang refers to Oberhummer's *Akarnanien*, and all the Homeric material is collected by Buttmann in a lengthy discussion in his *Lexilogus*, *s.v. θοός*. The chief piece of evidence is *ἐθόωσα*, *ι* 327, which certainly means 'I pointed,' 'made sharp,' and shews that *θοός* once had the meaning 'pointed.' When it ceased to have that meaning, the islands would cease to be called by it and become *Ὀξεῖαι*. Lang says they can be seen at a great distance, and, again quoting Oberhummer, that they are in these days a guiding point for navigators.

[1]For recent statements see Mr. Allen in *JHS* xxx 304 ff. and Stürmer in *B ph W* 1913, 1660 f. The former refers to Bunbury, *Hist. of Anct. Geogy.* i 69 f., and Vollgraff, *N Jbb.*xix 627 ff. The suggestion had also been made by Prof. Warr in *CR* xii 304, and apparently by Kuruklis in *W kl Ph* 1894, 697 ff. Mr. Thompson, in *LAA* iv 133, seems to approve. Dörpfeld appears to make Dulichium part of the kingdom of Odysseus, which would involve a discrepancy between the two epics. I have seen this view contested, and can find no warrant for it in the *Odyssey*. Ferrabino, *Le Interpolazioni nel Catalogo Omerico* (*Atti d. R. Accad. d. Scienze d. Torino*, xlvii) makes the same assertion.

[2]For instance, among the old writers on the Ithaka question, von Lilienstern, *Ueber das homerische Ithaka*, 1832, and more recently Gustav Lang, *Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee*, 40 f.

And certainly they are 'pointed'. A drawing at p. 102 of Mure's *Journal of a Tour in Greece* leaves no doubt about the appropriateness of the epithet. Hayman compares the 'Needles.'

In addition to the above it seems only necessary to say this, that for all those who are satisfied that the *νῆσοι θοαί* are *not* Cefalonia and Thiaki, and *not* the Montague Rocks, the matter is really settled. What other islands have ever been said to be, or can be, the *νῆσοι θοαί*? I think judgment on this point must undoubtedly be given against the Leukadists.

The next question is this. In two places in the *Odyssey*, δ 671 and ο 29, Asteris is said to lie *ἐν πορθμῷ* (in δ 845, *μεσσηγὺς*) *Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης*. Does this location better suit Arkoudi, between Thiaki and Leukas (Dörpfeld's Samé and Ithaka), or Asteris between Thiaki and Cefalonia (the Ithaka and Samé of the Ithakists)?

A decision depends on what we understand by *πορθμός*, and the Leukadists, as Goessler in *W kl Ph* 1906, 57 ff., affirm that the word is just as applicable to the *Meerenge* between Leukas and Thiaki as to that between Cefalonia and Thiaki. That can hardly be admitted. The former might be described, loosely, as a strait;[1] the latter is an indubitable strait, and strait is *the* term to use of it. A glance at the map suffices. And indeed the Leukadists have felt the difficulty. I refer to Goessler, *Leukas-Ithaka*, 50, quoting Gallina, and to Csengeri in *W kl Ph* 1909, 318. Gallina says *πορθμός* is synonymical with *πόρος*, 'which does not always mean "ford" or "strait," but also in general "path" or "way" by water or by land,' and Goessler that '*πορθμός*, connected with *πόρος*, *μ* 259—"path over the sea," means "water-way," not "strait".' So that G. Lang, after setting out and illustrating the uses of *πορθμός* and quoting the statements of his opponents, asks in despair, 'what then in all the world is the Greek for "strait"?' Goessler in reply (*W kl Ph* 1906, 93) can only repeat that his *Meerenge* is as good as Lang's. That does not appear to be so, and here again the Ithakists must be allowed to have scored a point.

Next, the Homeric Asteris is *μέσσῃ ἁλί*. The phrase might seem to suit Arkoudi better, as Daskalio is much nearer to Cefalonia than to Thiaki, while Arkoudi is more in the open sea. But *μέσσος* is often used in an indefinite way and the point

[1]Manatt (*Aegean Days*, 384) gives its width as eighteen miles, which is too great. Arkoudi really seems not to be in a strait at all. If it were five miles further west, it might be so described.

has not been pressed. Asteris is also *οὐ μεγάλη*, and again the phrase is not enlightening, unless, as some Ithakists suggest, there is *litotes* and the phrase means 'very small.' In that case it is much better of Daskalio, which is about 240 yards long (von Marées), than of Arkoudi, which is fully two miles in length.[1] And Asteris is *πετρήεσσα* or 'rocky', and that applies perfectly to Daskalio, but not to Arkoudi, which Paulatos describes as *γαιώδης* and not *πετρώδης*, and which has pasturage in places.

So far the description favours Daskalio, but the rest of it—*λιμένες δ' ἔνι ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ ἀμφίδυμοι*—raises much difficulty. The Leukadists point with triumph to 'twin havens' in Arkoudi, and photographs of these are given by Goessler and Seymour (*Life*). This is perhaps the best piece of evidence in favour of Leukas. Bérard in fact declares (*op. cit.* ii 483) that it is the 'one solid argument' in Dörpfeld's whole Leukas-Ithaka case.

The meaning of the words has first to be determined. *ναύλοχος* has not attracted the attention of the commentators or the disputants. It is generally accepted as = 'suitable for the accommodation of a ship' or 'affording a safe anchorage' (L. and S.), as in its only other Homeric occurrence, *κ* 141. Thomopoulos, *Das homerische Ithaka*, 15, gives 'suitable for lying in wait in,' that is, for a proceeding that must have been common in Homeric times. The rendering is supported by *ναυλοχέω* in later Greek, and by the eight occurrences of *λόχος* and *λοχάω* in the references to the Wooers' plot. But the point must be left open, and it is doubtful if the Ithakists could derive much benefit from the interpretation, even if they could establish it.

The words *λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι* are more important and are variously translated—'havens with double entrance', 'a haven with a double entrance,' or simply 'a double haven' or 'two havens.' Consulting some eighteen commentaries and lexica, I find a decided preponderance in favour of the last.[2] The word *ἀμφίδυμοι* is treated as the equivalent of

[1] There is room on Daskalio for the ruins of two churches, a reservoir and a tower. Probably, as Mr. Wace tells me, there had been a monastery there or some such religious institution, whence, as in other similar cases, the name, corrupted from *Διδασκαλεῖον*.

[2] *ἀκταὶ ἀμφίδυμοι*, in *Argonautica*, A 939 f., is rendered by Mr. Seaton '(and the isthmus has) double shores.' Thomopoulos' explanation based on Apoll. Rhodius' words seems untenable (*op. cit.* 17 f.).

δίδυμοι, and the presence of ἀμφί is taken by four editors as meaning that the two havens were on opposite sides of the island. This would be against the Leukadists, as is also the possible interpretation given by Seymour, *op. cit.* 72, ' "with a double entrance," like Sphacteria.' But it cannot be denied that the meaning may be only 'twin havens' or 'a pair of havens,' and that the pair found in Arkoudi may correspond to what the poet had in his mind.

One thing is certain, the Ithakists cannot shew a real λιμήν on Daskalio at the present day, and some of them in consequence abandon the islet. Bérard (*op. cit.* ii 492) finds a double *brèche* or indentation in the rocky shore, and it may be the remains of a double λιμήν.[1] And see Paulatos, ἡ πατρὶς τοῦ 'Οδυσσέως, 123, and Vollgraff, *l.c.* 621, both of whom speak from personal observation. The Ithakists here in fact have recourse to the possible changes that the sea, the atmosphere and earthquakes may have wrought in 3000 years.[2] These must, as stated above, be borne in mind, especially as Daskalio is formed of a calcareous rock,[3] and the great erosion which Heligoland has suffered is brought in evidence (Lang, *op. cit.* 46, replied to by Goessler, *W kl Ph* 1906, 95). Part of Daskalio may have been destroyed, or much of its shore may have been worn away by wind and tide. But it is only a possibility. The fact remains that to-day, as in Strabo's time, Daskalio offers οὐδ' ἀγκυροβόλιον εὐφυές.

At Arkoudi the Leukadists have found and photographed the twin havens. These must have been hard to find, for Professor Manly, *Ithaca or Leukas*, 36, declares there was nothing of the sort on the island, and he accompanied Dörpfeld on a visit to it (Gröschl, *Dörpfelds Leukas-Ithaka Hypothese*, 26). Paulatos says the same. But there are the photographs! But do these exhibit two real 'havens'? A short strip of land, called by Dörpfeld a 'natural mole,' runs out to a knoll called an islet and has a bay on either side. The bay to the left can hardly be so called, for the shore seems to stretch away in a straight line. If these are 'havens,' then sandy shores on either side of any jutting spit of land may be so designated. Paulatos sees only a διπλῆ ἐγκόλπωσις,

[1] See the photographs he gives, and the frontispiece to G. Lang's work.

[2] But there does not seem to have been great change between Strabo's days and now.

[3] A particularly *hard* variety, von Marées says! The discrepancies as to such matters are, as Rothe has observed, a remarkable feature of this controversy.

and Michael only 'landing-places.' They are said to be on the south-east of the island, and are no doubt protected from northerly winds, but they appear to be open to wind and wave from the south. It would be a poor swell that this 'mole' would be a protection against. But at least the Leukadists can say they are much better than anything that Daskalio can shew. Professor Manatt accepts them, though he is not, I gather, a Leukadist (*op. cit.* 384 and 358 n.).[1]

Besides, however, the possibility of change between Homer and Strabo, and another consideration which will be noticed presently, the Ithakists can supply one other identifying mark. In Strabo's time Daskalio was still known as Asteria. That is at least as good evidence as the havens of Arkoudi, though Gustav Lang, when he sees the name Asteris,[2] *Sternchen*, change to Asteria, *sternähnliche*, as the spits of rock which gave the former name disappeared under the onslaughts of natural influences, seems to yield to that weakness for pushing arguments to an extreme length which is characteristic of this Leukas question.

The view of that patient investigator, Bérard, remains to be stated. There is a double haven at Phiscardi, on the coast of Cefalonia, some two miles north of Daskalio. He takes these as the Twin Havens, comparing the *Καλοὶ Λιμένες* known elsewhere. He points out, though he does not, as some have asserted, adopt the resource, that, if we read *ἔπι* for *ἔνι* in δ 846, there is no difficulty. 'There is an island Asteris, with twin havens hard by.' But he prefers to rely on erosion for the disappearance of the havens from Daskalio itself, and to find the *ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας*, along which the Wooers set their watch (*π*365) while waiting for Telemachus, on the mainland of Cefalonia. And that is no improbable suggestion, for, as others have observed, it is

[1]This paragraph was written before I had seen Professor Manly's paper. I now add the following extract from it, p. 36, opposite which will be found a photograph of the double harbour. 'An examination of the coast line under the guidance of Dr. Dörpfeld showed, however, no such harbour. The eastern shore of the island, where the double harbour is said to lie, is practically a straight line from which a rocky strip, a few yards wide and four to six feet high, extends at right angles to the shore to a distance of about seventy-five yards. The surface of this rocky strip shows, as may be seen from the accompanying cut, that the water dashes over it readily, so that the whole shore is entirely unprotected and cannot be said to have any harbour at all.'

[2]Paulatos, *op. cit.* 122, explains the name from the sparkling of the stone—*δίκην ἀστέρος μαρμαίρει ἐν τῇ κυανῇ θαλάσσῃ.*

difficult to believe that the poet conceived of 'windy heights' in a very small island. ἠπείρου in π 367 may possibly point in the same direction. The uses of the word are discussed by La Roche, *Ithaka*, 489.

This leads to a further consideration which is insisted on strongly by the Ithakists, and freely admitted by the more moderate among their opponents, as Cauer, *Grundfragen*[2], 255, and Reissinger, quoted by Michael, *op. cit.* 14—that the poet must be allowed some (Cauer says 'full') freedom with the scenes he requires for his stories, even though, as the poems abundantly shew, he had considerable local knowledge. There are two extreme views on this point. One is that certain places,[1] as this islet of Asteris, existed only in the poet's imagination, that they are, as the Germans put it, *rein erdichtet*;[2] the other, represented by Dörpfeld above everybody, that Homer's descriptions are accurate representations of then existing facts, and that we can, by careful enquiry, recover every feature which he mentions. Both are, one might almost say by general consent, erroneous. The truth seems to lie between them. Homer knew the ground on which the action of each poem took place, but that is not to say that he knew it with fulness and exactitude, or that he did not at times, for the purposes of his story, take a certain amount of liberty with it. Dörpfeld knows as well as any one how true this is of Troyland; yet he will not contend that we can identify every Homeric point in that region, though those which elude us seem to become fewer year by year. But in the Ionian islands he insists, as Gruhn says, on 'every pebble,' and Cauer, *l.c.*, describes this initial assumption as a cardinal error in the great archaeologist's investigation.[3] Cauer's demand for full freedom for a poet is reasonable.[4] Mr. Gladstone reminded us long ago (on the 'Dominions of Odysseus,' *Macmillan's Magazine* xxxvi)

[1]The places mentioned in the Wanderings of Odysseus, commonly included in the 'Outer Geography' of the *Odyssey*, are not here in question, but only the *Schauplätze* of the epics.

[2]Herkenrath, who is not a partisan, finds in the later name Asteria sufficient ground for holding that Asteris is not an invention (*B ph W* 1910, 1270).

[3]Dörpfeld's full confession of faith on the subject of the verity and actuality of all in Homer will be found in his review of Croiset's *Légende* in *W kl Ph* 1912, 1081 ff.

[4]La Roche (*op. cit.* 488) recalls the familiar lines of Horace,

pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.
scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.

that 'Homer had no map. He had his eye, and he had the report of others; and out of these he had to construct a map in his own brain.' That map cannot have been perfect. His fancy had to complete it, and his story prescribed what have been called 'accidental details.'

This being granted, Bérard perhaps points the way to a satisfactory solution for Asteris. We have in Daskalio a rocky islet that has much correspondence in its nature and position with Homer's description, and, as we shall see, admirably suited for the poetical purposes for which the poet uses Asteris. It had, one may concede for the moment, no haven. The poet wants one. Near by on the mainland are the Twin Havens, of which he has doubtless heard. He transfers them, and even perhaps 'windy heights' for scouts to look out from, from the mainland to his small rock. Is the assumption that he altered things as he found them to this extent for his story a violent one? *Petimusque damusque vicissim.* Let not Leukadists object. It seems trivial compared with some of their expedients—as the voyage west of Cefalonia, the submergence of the Montague Rocks, or the interpretation of ἑκάς or πολυβενθής. This latter word, in its accepted signification of *valde profundus*, suits the bay at Polis, but not that of Vlicho. Therefore it must be rendered *ein tief sich ins Land erstreckender Hafen!*

There remains to be considered the comparative suitability, in regard to position—which, as Vollgraff observes, *l.c.* 621, is much more important than mere local character—of Daskalio and Arkoudi respectively for the ambush described, and this involves the question of the return voyage of Telemachus. As regards suitability, honours seem to be even. If Telemachus returned to Skydhi, as Dörpfeld alleges, Arkoudi is well placed, though, as Paulatos notes, it is unnecessarily far from the capital at Nidri. There is a small island, Theleia,[1] much nearer home, lying between Leukas and Meganisi. But the Ithakists have equally good ground for approving the situation of Daskalio. It is opposite Polis and only some two miles from it. It commands the strait and, low as it is, one can see over the sea to the south as far as the Peloponnesus (Bérard, *op. cit.* ii. 493). The objection taken by the Leukadists, and one which they will apparently never

[1]Apparently Tiglia on the chart in Bérard, ii 419.

give up, is that Telemachus might land, as he actually does, at the south end of Thiaki. See *e.g.* Goessler, *op. cit.* 50, von Marées, *l.c.* 237, and even Seymour, *op. cit.* 71. The objection seems futile. The Wooers did not know of Athené's warning, and would assume as a matter of course that Telemachus would return to Polis the way he left it.[1]

As regards the return journey and the injunction that governed it, *ἑκὰς νήσων ἀπέχειν εὐεργέα νῆα*, we have seen how the Ithakists conceive it. On the other side I need only state Dörpfeld's case as he propounded it and has since changed it. First, he maintained that Telemachus sought the high sea to the *west* of Cefalonia and landed in Vasiliki bay in the south of Leukas. But the objections were so formidable that he gave Telemachus' course a new direction, *ἑκάς* being made a veritable 'portmanteau word' into which was packed the complicated meaning, *zwischen den Inseln durch, aber fern von ihnen*. But this was just as bad,[2] as Reissinger appears to admit (Gröschl, *op. cit.* 27 f.). We are now to suppose (see the *Zusatz* in Dörpfeld's *Leukas*, 16) that Telemachus proceeds up the strait past Asteris to Leukas, where he lands in the bay of Skydhi.[3] What then is the meaning of the warning? Telemachus, in this view, not only cannot get any good from keeping away from the coast of Thiaki on one side and that of Cefalonia on the other, but, more and worse than that, his course takes him close to the ambush at Arkoudi.

But in fact further discussion of the return journey is unnecessary, for Dörpfeld now holds that the opening passage of o is a late insertion. As he had himself objected to the

[1] The vexed question of the site of the capital on Thiaki cannot be discussed here, but my impression is that opinion preponderates in favour of Polis. Among the old papers on the Ithakan question Mr. Gladstone's is still good. Among the moderns, von Marées is against Polis, and Vollgraff's paper, which I have quoted more than once, is in reply to him. See also Bérard, and Mr. Allen in *JHS* xxx 304. But there is no want of literature on the subject. The name Polis looks like a survival, and the depth of water in the bay corresponds to the Homeric *πολυβενθής*. With Polis there is little difficulty in getting a satisfactory conception of the events in Ithaka, the incidents of Telemachus' trip, and the departure of Hermes in *ω*, according to the narrative of the *Odyssey*. It may at least be said that there are fewer difficulties with Polis than with any other site.

[2] So bad that Goessler (*op. cit.* 52) seems disposed to adhere to the first interpretation of *ἑκὰς νήσων*, which he declares to be not only grammatically accurate but also *sachlich notwendig*.

[3] Chosen because apparently Dörpfeld fixes on Evgiros, near Skydhi, for the dwelling-place of Eumaeus. Hennings, however (*Bph W* 1908, 620), denies that the swine could get shelter from the *north* wind (*ξ* 533) at Evgiros. They could in the site for the steading and *Κόρακος πέτρη* north of S. Andréa.

excision of lines by other authorities, he was naturally blamed for resorting to the same plan himself. His reply to that is in *W kl Ph* 1905, 1342, and is to the effect that *he* did not excise the lines; he only accepts the athetesis of others made on philological grounds. But the receiver in such a case is surely as responsible as the original depredator, and to those who do not admit the spuriousness of the passage this part of Dörpfeld's case seems to fail entirely. I cannot of course discuss the grounds on which the critics (see Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang*) mangle the lines in question, no two of them agreeing as to the spurious parts. They are really excellent specimens of the stuff that the Homeric criticism of the nineteenth century was made of. They will be found in Kammer, *Einheit der Odyssee*, 622 ff. It is enough to say that Monro and Hayman and other editors do not consider them worth noticing, that Blass' manipulation of the passage leaves Athené's instructions intact, and that, if any one be curious to see how the reasons appear in the light of common sense, he will find a full reply in Bärwinkel's *Zur Odyssee*, 23 ff. Dörpfeld promised to support the athetesis by a *Tagesplan* of the *Odyssey*, but I am not aware that this has ever appeared. The discovery that Theoclymenus was Athené was also to help the Dörpfeldian view, but nothing more has been heard of it.[1]

The result seems to be that in situation, character, and suitability for the ambush, Daskalio is at least as good a claimant as Arkoudi. As regards the *νῆσοι θοαί*, the injunction to keep clear of the islands, and the course of the journey back to Ithaka, we get, on the supposition that Daskalio is Asteris, a clear and consistent view with a minimum of difficulty. We cannot say the same of Arkoudi. The balance of probability is thus against Dörpfeld's position, and I think the same may be said of nearly every other branch of his case, and that he falls far short of the discharge of the onus which is on him.[2] I venture here to state summarily the conclusions

[1]It has since been developed in his edition of the *Odyssey*.

[2]He has been subjected to merciless criticism even in his own country, especially by Engel (*Der Wohnsitz des Odysseus*), who is not an armchair critic but speaks after visiting the islands. Strong as his exposure of Dörpfeld's methods is, it must be admitted there is good foundation for it. Dörpfeld impresses one as establishing a point with satisfaction to himself by giving some evidence for it and then insisting on it strongly as proved to demonstration. 'I believe . . . and I can prove it' is a sort of final formula with him (Manatt, *op. cit.* 381, 383, 387).

which I have come to on some points after a somewhat close examination of the voluminous literature. On others the battle may be allowed to be drawn.

1. That the *Catalogue* and the last book of the *Odyssey* are 'late' is assumed by Dörpfeld, and described by Rüter as the *Fundament von Dörpfelds Hypothese*. It is really its fatal weakness. It used to be a commonplace of old Dissecting criticism that the *Catalogue* is late, but Messrs. Allen, and Thompson and Wace (*Preh. Thess.* 254 n.) and others are of a very different opinion. The *Catalogue* reflects pre-Dorian conditions, and *Dörpfeld admits that in it Ithaka is Thiaki.* It is the same with ω. More than one defence of the genuineness of that book have appeared recently. I refer especially to those by Rothe and Belzner. See also three papers in *CP* viii and ix.

2. The ease with which Dörpfeld recovers all the Homeric landmarks in Leukas should not deceive us. Engel, who knows the ground, questions them all, *op. cit.* 4 f. But, apart from that, we must remember that all have been found in Thiaki, that Goekoop (*Ithaque la Grande*) has found them all in Cefalonia, and that Mr. Samuel Butler found them all, in very convincing fashion, years ago at Trapani in Sicily! *Omne solum forti Ithaca est;* for hills and havens, and caves and cliffs and springs, and even Mycenaean remains are not rare in these islands.

3. Dörpfeld has not proved[1] that Leukas was an island in Homeric days, and some refuse to believe that all the engineers and geologists the Kaiser may depute can ever prove it. Others, again, are satisfied that it does not matter whether it was so or not. Leukas could be *regarded* as an island, perhaps merely for the poet's purpose, as Wilamowitz at once objected; or again, it might be regarded as part of the mainland. See Finsler, *Homer*², 14, Cauer, *op. cit.* 242, Michael, *op. cit.* 12 f. and Engel, *op. cit.* 31 f.

4. Dörpfeld cannot prove that the settlement he has found at Nidri is Odysseus' palace. The appeal to Hissarlik is nugatory; in that case there was good reason *aliunde* for believing that Priam's fortress had once existed in the very

[1]The discussion has become very involved, and many authorities might be quoted pro and con. I note that Vollgraff (*l.c.* 617 n.) is not convinced. The statement in *JHS* xxvii Procgs. xliii that it had been shewn *conclusively* that Leukas was an island in 1000 B.C., was extremely premature.

locality. In the present case there is reason for believing on the Homeric text that Odysseus was not housed in a Mycenaean keep, but rather in a building that would not leave much sign after 3000 years. Mycenaean remains may prove too much. Goekoop is confident that Kavvadias will find Odysseus' palace in Cefalonia, and that he will live to hear 'the *φόρμιγξ* of Phemios played in the Megaron.' The remains in Leukas have yet to be dated and co-ordinated with others. The descriptions of them are various—prehistoric, Achaean, Mycenaean, Achaean-Mycenaean, mid-European. See Prof. Myres' remarks in *YW* 1906, 6 f., and 1907, 30, and Mr. Thompson, *l.c.* 133 and n. And cf. Seymour, *op. cit.* 76, Sitzler, *Aesth. Kommentar*[2], 176, Engel, *op. cit.* 13 f. and 40 ff., and Dörpfeld in *W kl Ph* 1909, 1185 ff. and 1912, 1081 ff., and his *Vierter Brief*. Hennings, in *B ph W* 1908, 619 f., objects strongly to Nidri as the site of Odysseus' palace. The ground has been described as low-lying and even swampy.

5. Dörpfeld believes, and tells it *als ob er dabei gewesen wäre* (Engel), that the Dorians came into the then Ithaka, drove its inhabitants into Thiaki,[1] and called the then Ithaka Leukas. It is a mere suggestion, and there is nothing in the tradition to support it. Seymour, who seems to approve, can cite no evidence. Sitzler, *op. cit.* 175, considers it most unlikely. See also Rothe, *op. cit.* 317, Engel, *op. cit.* 8 f. and 11, Gröschl, *op. cit.* 39, *Athenaeum*, No. 4087, 241, etc.

6. The famous passage, *ι* 21 ff., will probably never be satisfactorily interpreted in every particular as it stands. But one thing is taken as certain by many authorities, that the first word in the sentence, *ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι*, cannot be applied to Leukas, which has not a single island either to west or north.

7. I cannot ascertain that it ever occurred to any one before the days of Leukas-Ithaka to take the line, which occurs four times in the *Odyssey*, and is addressed to new arrivals in the Homeric Ithaka, *οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν οἴομαι ἐνθάδ' ἱκέσθαι*, as anything but a small joke.[2] See the com-

[1]Rothe (*Die Odyssee als Dichtung*, 335) thinks it strange the outcasts did not go further on, as to the richer and more distant Zanté. They remained just on the other side of the 'strait' from the Dorian fiends.

[2]Paulatos quotes modern Greek equivalents. But Vollgraff, though he objects to Dörpfeld's inference, does not admit a *Witz*.

mentaries. The reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, *l.c.*, refuses to take seriously the argument Dörpfeld bases on the line. So Miller in *Preuss. Jahrbb.* cxvii. 304. When he, Dörpfeld, goes on to say that the *Witz* is not appropriate at the 'solemn moment' when Odysseus is recognized by his son, he seems to forget the freedom with which Homeric formulae are at times employed.

8. The positive evidence from the epithets which Homer gives to his Ithaka is on the whole against the new theory. Especially, the descriptions *οὐδ' εὐρεῖα*, *ν* 243, and *οὐχ ἱππήλατος περὶ πασέων*, δ 607 f., are much less appropriate of Leukas. Engel affirms that there are 30 sq. km. of pasture on it. If that be so, one wonders that Odysseus, its lord, should ever have sent his herds to the mainland. See Hennings in *B ph W* 1908, 618, Rothe, *op. cit.* 328 f., Engel, *op. cit.* 23 and 30 f., and Dörpfeld, *W kl Ph* 1909, 1186.

There is also, as first pointed out by Wilamowitz, strong negative evidence in this, that Homer does not refer by epithet or otherwise to what is described as a most imposing feature of Leukadian scenery, the white cliffs which are said to rise from the sea to a height in places of 300 m. or over 900 feet. A photograph of these great grey walls in the vicinity of C. Dukato may be seen opposite p. 48 of Weber's *Im Banne Homers*.

9. The *Λευκὰς Πέτρη* of *ω* 11, now generally identified with C. Dukato, cannot be inside Homer's Ithaka. Hermes, with the souls of the Wooers under his wing, leaves Odysseus' abode for the *ζόφος*. Be that due west or north-west, the god, starting from Nidri, would not go first south-west to the cape. The description suits Thiaki. From Polis, Hermes makes for the sea (*Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοαί*) and then passes the *Πέτρη* on his way to the Beyond.

10. Homer in *χ* 197 (and cf. *ψ* 244 and 347) represents the sun as rising to dwellers in his Ithaka from the streams of Ocean. That again is less appropriate of Leukas, lying west of an enclosed bay, than of Thiaki with a much wider stretch of sea between it and the mainland.

If there were any hope that Dörpfeld's book on the whole subject, promised as far back as 1905,[1] would add some additional arguments, one might well pause before coming

[1] It appeared at length in 1927.

to a final conclusion, but there seems to be none. Dörpfeld has spoken frequently since he first propounded his hypothesis, but, apart from the local excavations and investigations into the *Inselnatur* of Leukas, there seems to be nothing new. Meantime the opposition gathers strength with every year, and now includes Rothe, Finsler, Vollgraff and Drerup. The Leukadists are certainly outnumbered. Cauer is nonplussed. *Also Fragen über Fragen! statt befriedigender Lösung neue Rätsel!* (*op. cit.* 255). He would believe, if he could, but Dörpfeld requires of his disciples a whole-hearted view of Homeric realities which to Cauer is impossible of acceptance. It is a view that must incline all who hold the Homeric Unitarian creed to pray for Dörpfeld's full success, but the present position of the question does not warrant the hope that that prayer will be answered, and the controversy must apparently continue to be carried on. Of enquiries on the spot there have been plenty; Mr. Gladstone's hope, in his last words on the old Ithakan dispute, has been fulfilled over and over again. But still there is no peace. Dr. Leaf, a convinced Leukadist, would lay us all under a lasting obligation if he could but be induced to give us an autopsy such as he has given us for Troyland.

BEATI POSSIDENTES ITHAKISTAE

CP XII (1917)

THE question here proposed is: On whom does the burden of proof lie in the Leukas-Ithaka dispute?

In attempting an answer I am forced to introduce what Professor Platt once described as that 'accursed Homeric Question,' for I go back to the *Catalogue of the Ships*, a document which is by some Ithakists and most Leukadists rejected as an addition to the *Iliad*. It is admitted by Dörpfeld himself and his supporters generally that in the *Catalogue* Ithaka is Thiaki, but then they say that the *Catalogue* is late. That has not been proved. Dr. Leaf's great attack on it in his *Homer and History*, splendidly misdescribed, as it seems

to me, in *JHS* xxxvi 103, as 'an extraordinary masterpiece of destructive criticism,' has not taken us any farther. I have given reasons for this belief and shall have more to urge. Briefly, his case, so far as it is new, is threefold, based on alleged malfeasance by the 'Cataloguer' with regard to the dominions of Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Peleus.[1] For the first Dr. Leaf requires the Leukas-Ithaka hypothesis, and few will grant him that this has been established. For the second he requires that Mycenaean Corinth should disappear. This involves (1) the arbitrary and unconscionable excision of a passage from the *Iliad*, (2) that Mycenaean remains not only have not yet been, but never can be, found at Corinth,[2] and (3) that there was no intercourse between Greece and the West in Mycenaean days. None of these things can be conceded. As to the dominion of Peleus, see *CR* xxx 184 ff. The attack is at this point extremely feeble. It would be difficult, in these better days for Homeric criticism, to find a parallel to the boldness of that repeated 'of course' on p. 116 of *H and H.*

This being so, we may adhere to the position, established in supersession of the old Niesian doctrine by Mr. Allen in a series of learned and exhaustive papers, and wonderfully confirmed by Mr. M. S. Thompson's demonstration of the correspondence of the contents of the *Catalogue* with the Mycenaean world, that the document is pre-Dorian. To that early world the island we know to-day as Thiaki was known as Ithaka, and this name[3] has clung to it ever since, except possibly during, and in spite of, short periods in the Middle Ages when the island was deserted. There is no ground in history or tradition for believing that it ever had any other name. It is confirmed by allusions in classical writers, to whom Leukas was Leukas, and coins and inscriptions are said to agree. And the island was believed by antiquity to be the Homeric Ithaka, and the home of its greatest hero. On that point also there is no trace in history or tradition of any

[1] I might add his rejection of the Assembly at Aulis. On that point see *CR* XXX 17 ff.

[2] As to this confident prophecy see, besides the reference in *CR* xxx 81, Mr. Allinson in *Am.J.Phil.*, 1916, p. 214.

[3] The only attempt, apparently, to explain the name makes it Semitic, = ἰτυκη = Utica = *colonia*. Compare Olshausen in *Rhein. Mus., N.F.*, viii 329, note. The island would be a Phoenician settlement. In that connection one recalls Gladstone's paper on 'The Phoenician Affinities of Ithaca' (*Nineteenth Century*, August, 1889).

other belief or of any doubt, and especially there is no hint of a Leukadian Odysseus. All this has been repeatedly affirmed in the course of the controversy, and I have not seen it questioned. If grounds for questioning it exist, let them be stated. Dörpfeld's own words on the point are, 'for nearly three millennia Thiaki passed for the home of Odysseus and for the Ithaka of Homer. Neither in antiquity nor at the present day has this title of honour been seriously disputed.'

The only doubt has been as to the extent of the poet's acquaintance with the island. The terms in which he describes its position in the sea and relatively to other land (though no worse,[1] it is said, than Caesar's in regard to Britain), and the positions of certain places in or near it, have given rise to different opinions. Some, as *le grand hérésiarque* Hercher, who spent *one* day in Thiaki, confining himself to the limited central portion; who was, as Menge has shown, a very inaccurate observer; and whose *Phantasieinsel* has been rejected even by the Leukadists[2]—have gone so far as to deny that the poet had any personal knowledge of the island, but these extremists are a small minority. Others have reconciled to their own satisfaction the discrepancies which have been discovered—here as everywhere else in the poems—and have found the whole account consistent. Others, again, are indifferent to the apparent discrepancies, and that for three reasons: first, there is a mass of agreement between the poet's account and actuality that far outweighs the μικρὰς ἀνομοιότητας, and, as Professor Jevons has remarked in another connection, the agreement has to be accounted for as well as the difference. Homer and the tradition are confirmed *inter alia* by such broad features as the mountains, the ports, the agricultural regions, and the names Thiaki, Polis, Asteria, Zanté, Samé, Leukas Petré, and even Koraka, Platythria, and Polyktorion. Secondly, they recognize, as even Hercher and some Leukadists do, the old epic poet's right to take some freedom with topography for the purposes of the action of the poem, and decline to demand from him the consistency and exactitude due from a modern historian or surveyor. They think that

[1] I might now say, 'not nearly so bad as.' For since this paper was complete I have read what Professor Merrill says in *CJ* xii 88 ff.

[2] He treated Troy from the same standpoint, and who regards his views now?

Cauer strikes the *via media* when he says that it is 'as wrong to regard all as pure invention as to hold all real and historical.' He who objects to such latitude and requires exact correspondence of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* must do so in the face of the extraordinary liberties and inaccuracies which have been discovered in poems and stories of all ages. Lilienstern asks if a good knowledge of the geography of the Scottish Highlands is to be obtained from Scott's romances. I cannot say, but I recall the fact that the novelist does on one occasion, though not certainly as a regular practice, make the sun set in the sea to the east of Scotland. Such an objector must, to confine ourselves to Homer, give up Hissarlik, for there are points in the description of Ilios in the *Iliad* which make the identification almost impossible. And, thirdly, the changes that three thousand years may have wrought in the terrain are not to be neglected. A mountainous island, forest-clad and with abundant rainfall, will of course be well watered, but it is absurd to expect it to be *wasserreich* and still *βουβότος*[1] when the slopes have been denuded of all means of water storage. Milk and honey will be scarce there as in many other parts of the earth that have suffered from human folly. In three thousand years Arethusa might degenerate into a 'dirty pool' (though five hundred head of cattle are watered at it daily even now in summer), and bees might be allowed to change their quarters without severe remark. Hissarlik is Ilios though Scamander has changed his bed and a hot spring has vanished like the Ithakan bees.

But all this is beside the immediate point, which is that through and in spite of all the discussions and their different results, one thing has remained unaffected, the traditional belief that the island which has so long borne the name of Ithaka is the one that was to Homer the seat of Odysseus. Here, one would think, is a good basis in tradition; here we have surely *vox totius antiquitatis*, and here *historia loquitur*. These are the phrases used by Wolf to describe the tradition about Pisistratus and Homer, a tradition which cannot be taken beyond the age of Cicero. Yet, comparatively recent as it is, it has been accepted by many minds without hesita-

[1] Bérard's (unmetrical?) amendment *συβότος* is not required. Anyone who has had experience of cattle in hill forests knows they can thrive there. For one thing, they do not live by grass alone.

tion in favour of a German theory. But when a vastly older and stronger tradition tells against another German theory, ah, *c'est différent*. And yet in these latter days the respect paid to tradition has greatly increased. Mere isolated stories or scraps of gossip have real value for inquirers. The story of the fountain Hypereia is about the only matter worth regarding in Dr. Leaf's reconstitution of the dominion of Peleus. An Odyssean theory is much helped by the tale in Pausanias about the outcast wanton, Penelope. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely. *Das gute Recht der Tradition* is more generally recognized than formerly, though certainly it is still abused.

We are now to reject this ancient tradition and accept Leukas as Homer's Ithaka. It cannot be; the difficulties are too great. I am not going to write another account of the controversy, but merely to do for Leukas what Dr. Leaf has done on a very small scale for Thiaki. I shall confine myself to enumerating—it must be with inconvenient brevity—the chief points of objection to Dörpfeld's theory.[1] They are, of course, nearly all collected from the literature of the subject. Some are fatal, some are not of great weight, but all point to one conclusion.

1. Leukas is too big to be the Homeric Ithaka, which supplies only twelve ships for Troy (and this, be it observed, not according to the unscrupulous 'Cataloguer' only) and twelve Wooers. Its whole population (πάντες λαοί) could hardly have been settled in 'one city' by the accommodating Menelaos (δ 176).

2. Easy communication with the mainland is one of Dörpfeld's strong points. Yet no Wooers are attracted thence.

3. The Homeric epithets do not suit. Leukas would be badly described as ἀμφίαλος.[2] It could not be said to be not εὐρεῖα. To say it is 'above all the islands' not ἱππήλατος and without δρόμοι or λειμών is absurd. Epithets of the τρηχεῖα type are not appropriate, while they admittedly fit Thiaki perfectly. Negatively the absence of reference to the great white cliffs of Leukas is passing strange.

[1]The enumeration should have begun with the fundamental error of the Leukadists, not so well known when the paper was written, that Homer gives all four islands as the realm of Odysseus.

[2]If the special meaning of the word, based by Michael and others on its application to Lemnos and Corinth, be accepted, the argument is much stronger.

4. *ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι κ.τ.λ.* does not apply, whichever meaning we give the adverb, for Leukas has no island to the north or the west.

5. *μετόπισθε* in *ν* 241 appears to mean 'westwards' (Monro) or, more accurately perhaps, 'to the north-west.' Was Athené referring to Italy? There is no other land west or north-west of Leukas.

6. The *Λευκὰς Πέτρη* of *ω* 11, now held by most authorities, Dörpfeld included, to be Cape Dukato, in Leukas, cannot, as his supporter Reissinger admits, be in Homer's Ithaka.

7. The sun rises to Homer's Ithaka 'from the streams of Ocean.' The expression does not suit Leukas, which lies west of an inclosed bay.

8. If *χθαμαλή* in its ordinary sense be difficult of Thiaki, it is impossible of Leukas. Michael has shown that Dörpfeld's conclusion based on *κ* 194 ff. is absolutely untenable.

9. *πανυπερτάτη*, the Leukadists claim, must be taken as 'farthest up in the sea of all.' But that cannot be regarded as certain on an examination of the Homeric uses of *πᾶς*, simple and compounded. 'Very far up in the sea' may be the meaning.[1] But let them translate as they desire; they are in no way advantaged. The sentence in which the word occurs runs:

> *αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται*
> *πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε.*

The 'all' the Leukadists insist on is described by this sentence, and is Ithaka plus a number of islands east of it, and the sentence says Ithaka is farthest up of this group of islands *πρὸς ζόφον*, and that suits Thiaki as well as Leukas. So whether the whole passage describing Ithaka was badly written originally, or whether it has been doctored since, or whether only the line *Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος*, (which recurs three times) has been inserted by someone who thought the three islands named were those referred to by *πολλαί*, matters not a jot. *πανυπερτάτη* is defined by the sentence in which it occurs, and fits Thiaki admirably.

10. *ἄνευθε* used of the 'many islands,' must mean 'at a

[1]The only authority, so far as I can discover, who makes this point is Gandar in his excellent *De Ulyssis Ithaca* (Paris, 1854), pp. 11 f. and note. He notices there the *πολλαί* of *ι* 23. The Homeric uses of *πολύς* correspond in variety to those of *πᾶς*. There is nothing to be found about these in the books, I think.

distance.' It cannot mean merely 'apart,''separate,' for any island can be so described. The word thus does not apply to Leukas, while it suits Thiaki perfectly.

11. The distance from what is now known to be the Homeric Pylos to Leukas is nearly half as great again as the distance from Pylos to the πρώτη ἀκτή of Thiaki at S. Andrea, and is an impossible trip for a Homeric ship in one night. We know how fatal an hour or a mile is to the topography of Thiaki.

12. Dörpfeld argues that the ferrying of flocks and herds for pasture to the mainland from Thiaki is unthinkable. As a matter of fact they are regularly ferried over in large numbers at the present day, and the Archduke Ludwig Salvator asserts that such ferrying is extremely common in the Greek islands and in Dalmatia. It is nowhere stated in the *Odyssey*, as some assume, that supplies were ferried across daily.

13. Why should Noemon or anyone else take horses or cattle out of Leukas with its square miles of pasture, which at the present day support a thousand horses, not to mention cattle? But, if it was necessary, was there no pasture to be had inland from Leukas? Was the best resource a sixty-mile journey by sea to Elis?

14. Antinoos threatens to cast Iros 'into a black ship and send him to the mainland.' Is the contemplated voyage simply the short trip in the ferry?

15. Dörpfeld has to force the remark, οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν ὀίομαι ἐνθάδ' ἱκέσθαι, in a question to a newcomer, out of the meaning universally given to it. Paulatos quotes similar small jokes in exactly the same circumstances as current at the present day, and others give parallels in German. The acme of absurdity is surely reached, when it is suggested by Goessler that a man who comes by a ferry can be said to come on foot, because 'a ferry is the primitive substitute for a bridge!'

The first part of the question, as to the ship and sailors that brought the newcomer, shows that the alternative of a ferry was not present to the questioner's mind.

The remark itself should be interpreted with reference to λ 158 f., where Odysseus' mother tells him that the stream of ocean is not to be crossed on foot; you must have a ship.

16. In δ 635 the word used for a trip to Elis is διαβήμεναι. The uses of this verb suggest that it is used more appropriately of the open stretch between Thiaki and Elis than of the partly island-strewn sea between Leukas and Elis.

17. In ν 274 ff. a ship making for Pylos or Elis is driven by a storm to a haven in Ithaka. Is Thiaki, or Leukas, much farther to the north, the more likely to be meant?

18. The soi-disant beggar tells that Odysseus is in Thesprotia, which adjoins Leukas. The reception of the news is hardly what one would expect if the long lost hero were only a few miles away with no sea to speak of between.

19. The port of Ithaka is πολυβενθής, which has hitherto meant to commentators, 'with very deep water.' So for Chrysé (Leaf's *Troy*, pp. 223 ff.). The port selected in Leukas has shallow water, so λιμὴν πολυβενθής is to mean in future *ein tief sich ins Land erstreckender* (or *hineinspringender*, Rüter) *Hafen!*

20. Similarly ἑκὰς νήσων has been expanded into *Zwischen den Inseln durch, aber fern von ihnen*. This was when Telemachus' return by a route west of Cefalonia—as actually propounded at first by Dörpfeld and still maintained by his henchman Goessler—was seen to be absurd. The difficulty was cleared by excision in the early part of ο. Reproached with this, Dörpfeld replied that *he* did not make away with the passage, he only used the athetesis of others. No *animus furandi* there! For Dr. Leaf's entirely new interpretation of ἑκὰς νήσων see p. 32 *post*.

21. The Homeric Asteris is now said to be Arkoudi, an island north-east of the northern prong of Thiaki. Let anyone look at a good official map, such as that on p. 419 of Bérard's second volume, or Murray's Handy Map, and say if Arkoudi can be said to be 'in a strait' between Thiaki and Leukas. The description is quite impossible. The so called strait is surely the only strait in existence that is actually broader than it is long.

22. This has led to strange wobbling—*Zikzakpolitik* the Germans call it—with regard to the meaning of πορθμός. See *JHS* xxxiv 231 f. It is more than wobbling; it is the wriggling of a worm impaled.

23. However we may render λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι, Arkoudi

cannot show them. Professor Manly settled that. The spit of land does not form 'havens.'

24. Dörpfeld would now bring Telemachus past Arkoudi to his certain destruction, and this whether the young man was making for Vasiliki (Dörpfeld's first choice, abandoned when it was seen that it could not be described as *Ἰθάκης πρώτη ἀκτή*), or Skydi (his second), or Syvota (his supporter Gallina's). Athené must have been tempting Telemachus to his undoing, as she once did Hector. But this will no doubt be explained as the result of the incorporation of a parallel version by a 'faker' or 'harmonizer.'

25. A ship going to Thiaki from Thesprotia (ξ 339) would sail far from land; one bound for Leukas would sail down the coast.

26. There is admittedly no evidence that Leukas was ever known as Ithaka. Proof, it will be said, is impossible. That may be the misfortune and not the fault of the Leukadists, but all the same it is eternally fatal. Dörpfeld cannot, a *Quarterly Reviewer* says, 'get over the difficulty that the name of Leukas was Leukas and the name of Ithaka was Ithaka.' The Corinthians, when occupying Leukas, did not apparently recall the old name or the glorious connection with the most famous hero in the Greek tradition. Often as Thucydides mentions Leukas, there is no hint of a splendid heroic past.

27. And there is not, admittedly, any evidence of a Dorian thrust to account for the ejection of the people of Leukas (then Ithaka) into Thiaki (then Samé). It is a mere guess to provide an essential link. *Vielleicht von den Dorern vertrieben*, Dörpfeld says, and so the change of name *erklärt sich sehr einfach!* Very simple indeed, by arbitrarily adding to the tradition to help out a hypothesis, instead of basing one's hypothesis on the tradition we have. It does simplify matters to assume *Völker-*, *Namen-*, and *Sagenverschiebungen* as one requires them. Well may Engel ask, 'Is such a method of proof permissible to a scientific authority?'

28. We are to suppose that the fugitives overpowered the folk of Thiaki (Samé) and gave their country's name (Ithaka) to it, and that its people in turn transferred themselves and their island's name (Samé) to the far larger island of Cefalonia (then Doulichion), which they, though certainly

παῦροι κεκακωμένοι, were able to conquer. It is assumption on assumption. Was ever such a 'General Post' assumed in order to complete a hypothesis?

29. And it involves real difficulty. The original Ithakans, dispossessed of the large and fertile Leukas, are content to settle in the far smaller and, by comparison, barren and unattractive Thiaki, and only a few miles from their Dorian enemies. Yet farther away was Zakynthus, which, as Mr. Hogarth tells us, 'for native riches bears the palm.' They could not have known of it, or it had not yet been upheaved from the depths.

30. The swampy ground of Nidri, where Dörpfeld places the capital of Ithaka, is said to be the worst site possible for a royal seat. The ancient burg—outside Crete—was usually on a height. The remains discovered suggest to Engel the establishment of a pre-Mycenaean horse breeder, who would be in his element there, like his confrères of the marshes of the Argolic Plain.

31. The capital of the Homeric Ithaka was evidently close to the sea, and not so far from it as Nidri is.

32. In the end of β and in δ 780 ff. a ship leaves the port of Ithaka. If that was Vlicho, we should expect to hear that she first went north up the two or three miles of the Vlicho inlet before turning south on what was certainly a nasty bit of navigation by night through a group of islands. There is nothing of the sort, and στῆσε δ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ λιμένος (β 391) cannot be forced to serve as a substitute for it.

33. Rheithron is still sadly to seek in the Leukadist scheme.

34. It does not appear that Dörpfeld has ever tried to prove that the Homeric descriptions fit the localities in Leukas. He simply says, 'I put the capital here and Eumaeus there,' and so on, and is then *functus officio*. But his *Zikzak-politik* here, as exhibited by Gustav Lang, is remarkable, and Engel, after visiting and traversing Leukas, declares that 'not a single feature of the Homeric descriptions of Ithaka corresponds with Leukadian actuality.'

35. And finally, the supporters of the new theory have to assume that parts of the poems, such as the *Catalogue*, the 'Continuation ' of the *Odyssey*, and the *Telemachy*, have been proved to be late and negligible, just as argument requires, and are far from agreeing among themselves. The procedure

facilitates the elaboration of hypotheses, but also renders them abortive.

To Dörpfeld 'Homer is a realist,' and the poems display 'descriptions of actuality in every sphere,' descriptions depending on a 'sure knowledge of localities.' How then, in face of the difficulties enumerated above, can he say that Homer was describing Leukas? We cannot, for such a bundle of contradictions, impossibilities, and evasions, bound together only by his 'I know I can prove it'—the sophist's διέσκεμμαι πάλαι—give up the tradition of three thousand years. But for his pertinacity and the facts that the hypothesis pertains to the Homeric sphere, in which anyone may do all that does not become a man, it would have been laughed out of court long ago. It has obtained some support, but far greater reasoned opposition, and as Beloch says, *steht vollständig in der Luft.*

The Leukadist's reply is a *tu quoque.* The Ithakist, he says, admits difficulties in his own case, which he seeks to brush aside, as he cannot cure them, by deprecating a too rigid interpretation of the incidents in an epic narrative. The Ithakist must allow liberties with regard to Leukas, if they are to be claimed for Thiaki.

That is a fair reply. What then should be the next step? I venture to suggest one. The course which the Ithakan controversy has pursued during the last hundred years has for several reasons been unsatisfactory. I will not lengthen this paper by describing these reasons here. I will only say that in the literature of the subject there is now one serious need, and that is of a comprehensive up-to-date statement of the weaknesses of the Thiaki case. We want it in English. We have it in German in Hercher's treatise, but that was written just fifty years ago, and his arguments have been demolished over and over again by set replies in his own country. The thing requires to be done afresh. It has recently been said that not a single Ithakan site described in the *Odyssey* can be identified. A justification in detail of that assertion will help to a solution by giving us the desiderated statement of the infirmities of the Thiaki case. Those who are interested will then be in a better position to compare the opposing beliefs. Of the possible result of the comparison I will at this stage merely say this, that, if it leaves only an

equality of difficulty, the tradition will stand, sufficient in itself, on the side of Thiaki. I adhere to Professor Manly's view that,' until some better claimant than either (Thiaki or Leukas) is produced, the traditional view, unbroken through recorded history, must be maintained.' Till then, *beati possidentes Ithakistae*. They need no new hypothesis. The tradition is enough, and the burden is heavy on him who would subvert it.[1]

ASTERIS AND THE VOYAGE OF TELEMACHUS

CP XIX (1924)

IN *JHS* XXXIV 227 ff., I examined the case for and against Dörpfeld's Leukas-Ithaka theory, so far as it rests on the position of Asteris and the return voyage of Telemachus. I propose here to give a fuller statement on these points, with special reference to the arguments in Dr. Leaf's *HH* and in two papers[2] by Mr. Frank Brewster. In addition to these there has been published, since I wrote as above, Mr. Allen's very full defence of the Homeric geography in his book *The Homeric Catalogue of the Ships*, with much detriment to Dr. Leaf's views of the geography and political conditions of Homeric Greece. Cauer also, in the third edition of his *Grundfragen* (I 201 ff.), has an essay on the Leukas-Ithaka question, in which a few main points in the controversy are dealt with, but not very helpfully. And Belzner's *Land und Heimat des Odysseus* is a presentation of the view that the poet did not know the regions of the west, but relied for the information necessary for his epic on accounts from various sources. Homer has, he thinks, supplemented these from his own creative fancy, and errors in his descriptions can now be detected.

The view with which I associate myself is, on the con-

[1]So Mr. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue*, 86, 'Thiaki is Ithaca until the contrary is proved.' It has kept its name, like Zacynthus.—I may add now (1934) that, so far as I am aware, the appeal I made above has not been responded to.

[2]*Harvard Studies*, xxxi 125 ff., and xxxiii 65 ff.

trary, that the imagination of the poet played little if any part in the matter, that his knowledge of the west of Greece is accurate, and that this can be shown in regard to both the voyage of Telemachus and the island of Asteris. The account of the voyage Dr. Leaf (pp. 350 ff.) finds unintelligible, and Mr. Allen gives it up (p. 93) as 'an *ἐπεισόδιον* in the construction of the poem,' and 'plainly Homer's invention.' For the islet, Dr. Leaf (p. 352) says that in my paper in the *JHS* I 'have to admit that Daskalio does not in a single feature suit the (Homeric) description of Asteris,' but that is not a correct statement, as I found the following points of correspondence: (1) Daskalio is like Asteris *ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε*; (2) it is, like Asteris, *πετρήεσσα, οὐ μεγάλη*; (3) it was suitable for the Wooers' ambush; and (4) the identification agrees with the account of the return voyage of Telemachus from Pylos. The statement should rather have been that I found in Daskalio all the features of the Homeric Asteris, except that there are not *at the present day* *λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι* on Daskalio, and that it has not what can *in strictness* be described as 'windy heights,' *ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας*.

But before I take up the proper subject of this paper, I should like to say a word on a crux which is noticed in all the papers I have quoted above, the meaning of *πανυπερτάτη* in the description of *Ἰθάκη* in *ι* 25, *πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται*. It is, of course, a point of the first importance, and in regard to it it seems to me that Mr. Brewster's new explanation of the meaning[1] is perfectly satisfying. He holds, as others—Hayman, Engel, etc.—had done before him, that the description is from the point of view of a voyager along the trade route from Pylos, but he has strongly reinforced the position. In fact, I do not think anything more cogent has been written in this Leukas-Ithaka controversy. Here I only wish to urge one other point, in amplification of what I said in *CP* xii 136 f., that *πανυπερτάτη*, though a superlative in form, is not necessarily a superlative in meaning; in other words, that, instead of meaning 'farthest west or north-west,' it may mean 'very far up toward the west or north-west.' If the occurrences of the simple *πᾶς* in Homer be examined by means of Gehring's *Index* or Ebeling's *Lexicon*, numerous instances can be found where the meaning is not 'every one'

[1] *HS* xxxi, 154 ff.

in the strictest sense, but only 'many' or 'much.' A few examples are: *τὴν πάντες μνώοντο περικτίται, πάντα κύσεν περιφύς, πᾶν δ' εἴσω ἔδυ ξίφος, βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων*. In the same way we may admit that in compounds such as *πάμμελας, πανάργυρος,* the *πᾶς* refers to the whole, but not, confining ourselves to Homer, in *πανάπαλος, παμποίκιλος, πάννυχος, παντοῖος,* as an examination of their uses will show. Outside Homer the list could be greatly extended. And it is hardly necessary to add that a superlative is often used to describe something, not as surpassing all others in a particular quality, but only as very high in its class. That being so, there is certainly no a priori reason for accepting *πανυπερτάτη* as superlative in meaning as well as in form. It is the case that the other superlatives in Homer compounded with *πᾶς*—I think they are only two, *πανύστατος* and *πάμπρωτος*—are superlatives in meaning. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in one of the only two occurrences in Homer of the simple *ὑπέρτατος*, Ψ 451, it seems highly probable that it is not used as a superlative. Idomeneus at the Games sat *ἐκτὸς ἀγῶνος ὑπέρτατος ἐν περιωπῇ*. As he was apart from the assemblage and specially placed, there seems not to be a comparison with other spectators. Translators differ. I see Mr. Blakeney's version is 'outside the circle, high aloft on a place of vantage.' This ground of objection to the passage in *ι* is thus quite uncertain. No one can say beyond question that *πανυπερτάτη* means 'farthest up.' It may mean 'very far up,' and that description suits Thiaki perfectly.

Belzner (pp. 12 f.) labours to support the interpretation of the word as *alleroberst*, by reference to *ἐσχατιῇ* in *ξ* 104. He takes the latter as describing the uttermost part of Odysseus' dominions, a new suggestion, and one that must, as those dominions are not under reference in the passage, be regarded as quite unacceptable. No one has ever doubted that, as in the other occurrences, the word has there its usual meaning of a distant or extreme part of a certain locality. A single reference to its other uses is sufficient. See *ω* 149 f.: *καὶ τότε δή ῥ' Ὀδυσῆα κακός ποθεν ἤγαγε δαίμων ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιήν, ὅθι δώματα ναῖε συβώτης*. In *ξ* the swineherd is simply telling his guest that he and others are herding 'here' in a 'part remote from the town,' and that is just what is said of the locality of his steading in *ω*.

But even granting that we are bound to interpret this description in an old epic poem *au pied de la lettre*, we are surely not justified in saying that the alleged discrepancy vitiates the Odyssean geography of the west of Greece so far as to prove that the poet did not know Thiaki. I refer again to what I said in *CP* xii 136 f.

I turn now to particulars of the description of the return of Telemachus. Dr. Leaf (p. 351) declines to accept as intelligible Athene's instruction to Telemachus, *o* 33: *ἑκὰς νήσων ἀπέχειν εὐεργέα νῆα*. But his translation, 'keep your ship far from[1] islands,' involves absurdity.[2] The only alternative one is 'the islands,' and the question is which islands are meant. Now Athené has mentioned two—*Ἰθάκη* and *Σάμος*—and has said the Wooers are in ambush between them. When, then, she goes on to warn him, only *four* lines farther on, to keep *ἑκὰς νήσων*, it is surely not unreasonable to infer that *Ἰθάκη* and *Σάμος* are meant. If anyone asserts that this is not so, it is for him to prove his alternative explanation. Now if by *Ἰθάκη* Homer means S. Maura, and by *Σάμος* Thiaki, what is the sense of telling him to keep away from S. Maura, to which he was bound? There is no such difficulty if by *Ἰθάκη* Thiaki is meant, for, as the route actually taken by Telemachus shows, he only kept away from Thiaki by going up toward Oxia in the first instance, and then cutting across to what the goddess in her instructions calls the *πρώτη ἀκτὴ Ἰθάκης*, i.e., the southernmost part of Thiaki.

Mr. Brewster, while he holds with the Ithakists that *Ἰθάκη* is Thiaki, believes with the Leukadists that by Asteris is meant Arkoudi in the far north near S. Maura, and propounds the view that the regular way of return from Pylos to the northern end of Thiaki was by the sea to the east of that island. His reasons are given in *HS* xxxi 136 ff., and are referred to as 'some evidence' *ibid.* xxxiii 66. I cannot agree. One reason is that the Thiaki channel is dangerous from squalls, but these Aegean squalls are really being overworked in this controversy. The sea to the east of Thiaki is also liable to squalls, according to Dr. Leaf (p. 153). So are many parts of the Mediterranean, the Euripos for example,

[1] So Butcher and Lang, and Liddell and Scott. Better, I think, 'away from.' See Ebeling, *s.v. ἑκάς*, referring to Nitzsch on *γ* 270. Not that the difference is important for present purposes.

[2] See *CR* xxx 82.

but Dr. Leaf's argument (pp. 100 ff.) that squalls and tides prevented it from being a highway of traffic was examined, on the data furnished by the 'Mediterranean Pilot,'[1] and found to be futile. Mr. Brewster, I may add here, seems from his references to summer conditions to think the voyage was made in that season, but Professor Scott[2] gives good reasons for believing it was in autumn. Mr. Brewster also argues from the incident of the return of the ship to headquarters told in π 341-70; he thinks the talk of the Wooers implies that the ship had not been seen by them. All I say on that point here is, if they did not see it, why did they return home? Yet again, Mr. Brewster relies on the account of Mentes' visit in α, but he takes, on Dr. Leaf's authority, Taphos to be Corfu or in Corfu, and Temesa to be in Cyprus, while the indications are all against that view.[3] I cannot see any ground for the belief that as a general thing shipmen voyaging to the capital of Ithaka or beyond shaped a course east of Thiaki, and made their voyage from Pylos longer than was necessary. Telemachus lengthened his a little, but his case was, as the poet explains, an exceptional one. He had to avoid certain death in the Ithaka channel.

Dr. Leaf also (p. 351) finds difficulties in the expression in ο 299 (relating how Telemachus carried out his instructions), *νήσοισιν ἐπεπροέηκε θοῇσιν*. First, he finds the use of the verb in the sense 'he set his course' unique. But unique uses are not uncommon in Homer, and are not to be too readily discarded. And the expression has caused no difficulty to other authorities, any more than the unique *ἡ δὲ Φεὰς ἐπέβαλλεν* in ο 297. Ebeling refers to Kühner-Gerth, § 373, on the use of transitive verbs in an intransitive sense, and the first examples quoted there from *Dichtergebrauch* are of our present verb *ἵημι*. The use of *ἐπεπροέηκε* is only seemingly intransitive; *νῆα* has to be supplied. Next, the 'curious resemblance' of our expression to 'the perfectly simple *νηυσὶν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῇσιν* of *Iliad* xvii 708' has a sinister aspect. But there is nothing strange when one recalls the Homeric way with the phrase. An expression is often but an echo of, or in mere *Anklang* with, a form of words employed elsewhere. A few examples are *Ἕκτόρεον δὲ χιτῶνα* and *νεκταρέῳ δὲ χιτῶνι, ἰδνωθεὶς δὲ πεσών* and *ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω*, and one not

[1] *Ibid.* xxxi 7 ff. [2] *CP* xi 148 ff. [3] *CR* xxx 82 f.

unlike the present instance, *σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισι* and *ἐπὶ νηυσὶ συνώμεθα ποντοπόροισι*. These doubts have no foundation.

Dr. Leaf is in no better case with *νήσοισι θοῇσιν*, which he renders 'the swift (or sharp) islands.' He says 'no one professes really to understand' the words. That is not so. Boisacq, Fick,[1] Bursian,[2] Schlichthorst,[3] and Bechtel[4] understand the reference to the Pointed Isles, the *Νῆσοι Ὀξεῖαι* of later times. There is no lack of authority.[5] *ἐθόωσα* in ι 327 = 'I made sharp' is quoted as good evidence that *θοός* could mean 'sharp' as well as 'swift,' two uses which are borne by the former word in English, and, as Dr. Leaf says (p. 150 n., of *χθαμαλή*): 'There is no reason why both senses should not occur in the same work.' I can add the authority of Fick, in his *Odyssey* (p. 94), on the line, η 34, *νηυσὶ θοῇσιν τοί γε πεποιθότες ὠκείῃσι*. He observes that the two epithets show that *θοός* used of a ship means not 'swift' but 'pointed' (*spitz*), and so we get rid of the old complaint that the poet speaks of ships drawn up on land as 'swift.' Further, in a case like *ἐν δέ οἱ ἧπαρ ἔπηξε θοὸν βέλος*, χ 83, is not 'sharp' the better, or at least the likelier, rendering? Cf. Eustathius 24 on A 12, *θοαὶ δὲ νῆες ἢ ταχεῖαι ἤ, ὡς περ θοὸν βέλος τὸ ὀξύ, οὕτω θοαὶ καὶ αὐταί*, and 1392, on α 71. Even *νὺξ θοή*, the exact meaning of which has been debated, may, he says, be equivalent to *νὺξ ὀξεῖα*. And lastly we may point to the significance of the later name *Ἐχῖναι*,[6] according to Stephanus *διὰ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ὀξύ, παρὰ τὸν ἐχῖνον*, not to mention the modern name Oxia. I note that Belzner (p. 27 n.) adopts the extraordinary rendering, 'the quick passing islands,' on which see *JHS ut supra*. Bérard's identification of the *νῆσοι θοαί* with the Montague Rocks[7] has not found favour, except, I think, with Dörpfeld. But a ship making for the open sea to the *west* of Cefalonia, which is Dörpfeld's view of Telemachus' voyage, could have no need to go near these rocks. She had only, after leaving Pheae, to cut across to Zakynthos and coast along it.[8]

[1] *Personennamen*, p. 420. [2] *Geogr. von Griechenland*, I 119 n.
[3] *Geogr. Homeri*, p. 89, quoting Strabo and Pliny.
[4] *Lexilogus*. [5] See *JHS* xxxiv 228 ff.
[6] 'As transferred to these islands, it most aptly denotes their pointed or prickly outline.'—Mure, *Tour in Greece*, I 105.
[7] Bérard has given it up. See note on p. 4 *ante*.
[8] See also *JHS*, as already quoted.

Athené, when instructing Telemachus as to his return voyage, refers to his arrival in Ithaka in these words (ο 36), αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πρώτην ἀκτὴν Ἰθάκης ἀφίκηαι, and the meaning is hardly disputed. πρῶτος is used here, as often, in a sense that recalls its derivation. In many of its uses in Homer it describes, in consonance with its origin as a superlative (πρόατος) from πρό, a thing situated at the extreme part, end or beginning, of some area or surface. Dr. Leaf on Θ 83, 411, Ξ 75, and Ο 653, and Merry (school edition) on τ 572, may be referred to, but many others might be quoted. To a speaker or spectator looking at the near edge or row in such a case, it is πρόατον or 'farthest forward' toward him. Just so here, πρῶτος means the part of Ithaka stretching farthest forward to Athené speaking in the Peloponnesus, that is, the southern point of the island.

The course taken is thus clear. The object is to avoid the Wooers, who are cruising in the Ithaka channel, which is the direct way home. So Telemachus is to make a detour, περιοδεῦσαι πλοῦν καὶ μὴ κατ' εὐθὺ πλεῦσαι, as Eustathius puts it (1773), on ο 33. Hence the instruction to keep ἑκὰς νήσων, which is further explained by the poet when he says the ship made for the Pointed Isles. So that all that is not described is the run across from these islands to the πρώτη ἀκτή, or southern extremity of Thiaki.

Now much has been made of the fact that there is this omission, but most unreasonably. In the first place, it is surely one that readers or hearers would readily supply. When they knew the point in Thiaki that the ship was making for, and that she was going there via the Pointed Isles, there was very little left to tell them. And in this connection it may be noted how the Pointed Isles, that is, the Echinades nearest the Peloponnesus, and the first that Telemachus would reach, are guides to the southern shores of Thiaki—first, Oxia, rising to a height of 1,380 feet; then, Makri, 417; and finally Vromona, 472.[1] These islands would be useful even in a voyage by night, as in the present case, in a sea in which, so far as we can judge from the *Odyssey*, navigation was quite a usual thing.

But further, the omission is quite *in the Homeric way*. At

[1]See, for instance, Murray, 'Handy Classical Maps,' *Graecia*. Mr. Brewster's sketch, opposite p. 128 of *HS* xxxiii, does not give so clear an idea.

o 299 a course is set by Telemachus for the Pointed Isles, and the poet leaves him (and readers of the story) wondering ἦ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἦ κεν ἁλώῃ, turns to the swineherd's hut, and describes what was passing there that same night. At o 495 he returns to Telemachus, who has meantime reached the πρώτη ἀκτὴ Ἰθάκης. Now, far from there being anything to be surprised at in this style of *Behandlung gleichzeitiger Ereignisse*, it is, as Zielinski has shown in his treatise with that title, a regular procedure in Homer. A familiar instance is in the sixth *Iliad*. At line 116 Hector leaves the battlefield for the city, and at line 237 is there. The interval is filled in for the poet's hearers by the meeting of Glaukos and Diomede, and there is not a word about Hector's journey. Similarly, the poet leaves Telemachus nearing the Pointed Isles on a journey which is to end at the πρώτη ἀκτὴ Ἰθάκης, and we find him there at the end of a night which the poet fills in with something else. It is the poet's way, and cavil is useless. He must be allowed to describe a journey in his own way. Sometimes he gives detail. At others he does not; the traveller simply departs and arrives. So it was with Telemachus' journey *to* Pylos. The return was different. An ambush had been set, and plans had to be altered, but everything essential is told, and the whole account is intelligible and consistent, and not open to the objections which have been made to it.

So much for the voyage. I now turn to Homer's Asteris. It is said to lie ἐν πορθμῷ (or μεσσηγύς) Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης, δ 671, 845, and o 29, and the prime fact in Athené's instructions to Telemachus is that an ambush has been laid for him there, which she tells him how to avoid. A question arises as to the meaning of the words ἐν πορθμῷ. Formerly no one doubted that they meant 'in the strait,' πορθμός being taken in the sense given it by the old lexicographers of στενὸν τῆς θαλάσσης, or (Eustathius 1513 on δ 671) στενὴ θάλασσα μεταξὺ δύω γεῶν. But with the subversion of old interpretations of passages in the *Odyssey* which was caused by Dörpfeld's theory, and the discovery of Arkoudi between Thiaki and S. Maura, came the contention that the *Meerenge* in which it is situated is as good a πορθμός as the channel between Thiaki and Cefalonia which contains Daskalio. But when that argument seemed unlikely to

prevail, the Leukadists fell back on the connection of πορθμός with πόρος, and gave the word the signification of 'water way,' *Wasserweg* or *Bahn des Meeres*.[1] I would not say more now, were it not that Mr. Brewster goes a step farther in *HS* xxxiii 69 ff. He believes that the Homeric Asteris is Arkoudi, and to substantiate the identification seeks to prove that the proper rendering of πορθμός is 'trade-route.' To establish this he gives quotations from classical authors, and has supplied me with others. Now it may be admitted that in some of these passages the bit of sea referred to is certainly not a strait, though in others it as certainly is. But, granting that in every case the locality is on a trade-route—indeed, one must grant it, for that can be said of almost every part of the Mediterranean—it does not follow that the writers, when they used the word πορθμός, had the trade-route meaning in their minds. To Mr. Brewster this is quite intelligible, because trade-route was the original sense of the word, and that sense became 'limited in meaning with the progress of time.' But the reverse process is at least as common; a word comes to acquire new uses by modification and expansion of its original signification. *Penes philologos judicium.* I humbly think πορθμός came to be used, especially by poets, of any piece of water with well-defined limits. Further, Mr. Brewster argues from πορθμῆες in υ 187 f., and from a similar passage (without the word) to which I referred him, π 227 f., of the Phaeacians. He thinks 'common carriers' would be a better translation than 'ferrymen'. I suppose that is a possible rendering, but here again it is equally good to argue that it was not a *route along which* the men plied their trade that was in the poet's mind, but *the strip or sheet of water that had to be crossed*—in π that between Corfu and Italy, in υ that between Thiaki and the mainland.

And I would add two things: First, if πορθμός meant to Homer a trade-route or something like it, it is surely very extraordinary, considering the number of voyages along trade-routes described in the *Odyssey*, that it occurs only in the single case of Asteris, in words designed not to describe a route but to locate the islet. We have πλόος, ὁδός, ὑγρὰ κέλευθα, and other expressions, but πορθμός never! Examples of such trade-routes are those from Crete to Egypt, from Corfu to

[1]See *JHS* xxxiv 231 f.

Thiaki, from Sunium round Maleia and on to the north, and the two courses across the Aegean mentioned in γ 169 ff. It seems to me that it is impossible to conceive Homer describing any one of these as a πορθμός. Second, my own strong feeling, on what I know of the Homeric way, is that, if Homer had meant us to understand that Asteris was on a trade-route, he would have expressed it in other words, κεῖται κατὰ πορθμόν or the like, and would not have used ἐν. And I think he would have defined the trade-route by the *termini*, or at least the *terminus ad quem*. But, of course, others may have a different 'feeling,' and I do not forget Andrew Lang's warning from Tennyson in another connection: 'They are dangerous guides, the feelings.' But, on the whole, I think there is no ground for the view that πορθμός meant in Homer 'trade-route,' and that the significance was afterward narrowed down so as to mean also 'strait.'

Again, Asteris is described as πετρήεσσα and οὐ μεγάλη. Now no one has ever denied that these two descriptions fit Daskalio perfectly. πετρήεσσα is, of course, from πέτρη, and means, 'rocky,' and Daskalio is simply a mass of rock. Of Arkoudi, Goessler, Dörpfeld's great supporter, can only say[1] that it is *steinig* or 'stony,' which will not do. Paulatos (*ΠΑΤΡΙΣ* p. 117) describes it as γαιώδης, and says it is the only one of the small islands that is in parts 'capable of cultivation.' Not one of them, he adds (p. 122), is so small and so rocky as Daskalio. How οὐ μεγάλη, which is even more expressive if, as some think, there is litotes, strikes even a strongly biased mind, is shown by a remark of Goessler's. In the *B ph W* for 1912 (col. 355), reviewing a work by Croiset, he notes that the author's peculiar identification of Atoko as the Homeric Asteris is not acceptable, because Atoko cannot be called οὐ μεγάλη. Now a glance at the map will show that Arkoudi is about the same size as Atoko. Therefore the description cannot refer to Arkoudi. It may be added that it is two miles long and rises to a height of over 400 feet. Daskalio is a speck compared to it.

There is yet another objection to Arkoudi. What, of course, the Wooers expected, knowing nothing of Athené's interposition, was that Telemachus would return to the capital whence he sailed, and this place is, to the Leukadists,

[1] *Leukas-Ithaka*, p. 50.

Vlicho, at the foot of a small gulf on the east of S. Maura. But the goddess bids him land on the πρώτη ἀκτὴ Ἰθάκης, that is, *ex hypothesi*, the southern end of S. Maura, and Dörpfeld accordingly makes him land there. What, then, is the sense of Athené's warning? Far from showing him how to escape, she is really sending him into the jaws of death, for, as Dr. Leaf says (p. 152), Arkoudi is 'right upon the course which must needs be taken by a vessel sailing from Pylos to Leukas,' whether to its southern end or eastern coast. What, we might further ask, is, on Dr. Leaf's explanation, the sense of her injunction to keep ἑκὰς νήσων, 'clear of islands,' as he renders the expression? If Arkoudi be Asteris, Telemachus has islands, islands all the way. Paulatos (p. 118), also asks—and this is fatal to Arkoudi—why the Wooers should go fifteen miles from the capital Vlicho to Arkoudi, when there is, much nearer home and close to the entrance of the Vlicho inlet, the island of Theleia, which has an ἔξοχον ἀγκυροβόλιον to which ships run for shelter in κακοκαιρία. They would be even more certain of their victim there, and at much less trouble to themselves.

Another objection of Dr. Leaf's to Daskalio is that it does not command the southern stretch of the channel between Thiaki and Cefalonia. But it certainly does as far as the narrative of the *Odyssey* requires. Dr. Leaf's view is new and peculiarly his own, and his little joke on page 353 about the mountains of Peloponnesus does not help matters. Certainly a boat coming up the west coast of Thiaki, whether rowed or under sail, could be seen several miles down the strait from the islet, which Dr. Leaf says rises to a height of twenty feet above sea-level, though the height is really not so great. Those who know from experience of sailors on shipboard, or on land with primitive hillmen, that they can see a far greater distance than the ordinary town-bred passenger on a liner, can have no difficulty in believing that the men of early Greece, with eyesight still unspoiled, could see a Homeric ship two or three miles away on the sea. And we have the testimony of Amphinomos, π 356 f., ἦ εἶσιδον αὐτοὶ νῆα παρερχομένην. He does not, it is true, say she *was* seen; it is enough that he knew she could have been seen. Mr. Brewster has no difficulty, and there can be none, in accepting the view that Daskalio was an excellent place at

which to keep watch, so far as visibility is concerned. I could add the testimony of Vollgraff, Bérard, Paulatos, the Archduke Salvator—himself an experienced sailor—and others, but it is not needed. And it seems very probable that Daskalio was a favourite lurking-place for the pirates of Homeric days, for the channel in which it lies has always been a happy hunting-ground for the brigands of the sea. See the quotation in the note on Mr. Allen's page 93, and add Mr. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, page 8. The epithet *ναύλοχοι*, used in δ 846 of the *λιμένες* of Asteris, has perhaps more significance than some think. Cf. Eustathius 1519 on δ 844, *ἢ παρὰ τὸ λόχον ἐν αἷς ἦν λοχῆσαι. διὸ ἐπήγαγε τό, τόν γε μένον λοχόωντες Ἀχαιοί.*

Mr. Brewster, however, argues[1] that the ship was not seen. This on the talk of the Wooers in π 357-70. But, as I have already asked, why in that case did they return to port, and only a short time before Telemachus? The explanation seems to be that they did not catch sight of the ship from Daskalio till she was nearing home. They say that they had been cruising by night, and they would return to the islet in the morning, when Telemachus' ship was starting from the southern end of Thiaki, where Telemachus had landed. It is true they say watch was kept on shore by day, but after a whole night on the water a little laxity, or a little delay in setting the watch, is not to be wondered at. When they did see *νῆα παρερχομένην*, it was too late. It was then a race for the haven home between the two ships. I may be told there is no express evidence of neglect on the part of the Wooers, but perhaps we may infer that there was when we find Antinoos laying the blame of their ill success on the gods, *θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν*, 364, and *ἀπήγαγε οἴκαδε δαίμων*, 370. It is a simple and a common resource.

To ancient hearers or readers the divine agency really explained all. They would not need to make close scrutiny of the narrative. Athené's protection of Telemachus throughout his trip is guaranteed most expressly. She is with him at first in bodily presence, but, if she departs, *ῥεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαώσαι*, so she tells him, γ 231. See again δ 753 and 765, and 806, where the *εἴδωλον* promises Penelope that her son shall return, for the goddess *πομπὸς ἅμ'*

[1] *HS* xxxi, 143 f.

ἔρχεται. Or see in ε 25-27 the declaration of Zeus himself; Athené is, acting ἐπισταμένως, to bring Telemachus home ἀσκηθής, and the Wooers shall return from their ambush παλιμπετές, a word which, judging from its single recurrence in Π 393, surely foreshadows the confusion in which their enterprise was to end. Or finally, we may refer to ν 421 ff., Athené to Odysseus. For the actual fulfilment of the promise I need only refer to ο 27 ff. The Wooers lie in wait for you, Athene tells her protégé, ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ὀίω ('I don't think') and πέμψει δέ τοι οὖρον ὄπισθεν ἀθανάτων ὅς τίς σε φυλάσσει τε ῥύεταί τε. What more is necessary? Hearers or readers knew from the first that Telemachus was to be brought safely home. But we can see how that came to pass without divine help.

The same applies to Mr. Brewster's argument from the prevailing winds on the data furnished by the *MP*, though he does not appear to draw conclusions with great confidence. My reply is that I am prepared, if he pleases, though Bérard will not agree, to assume that the winds would be unfavourable to Telemachus' return. In fact, the emphatic way in which Athené gives her promise of a favouring breeze in the passage quoted, and the equally clear statement of Telemachus to his mother on his return, ἔδοσαν δέ μοι οὖρον ἀθάνατοι, τοί μ' ὦκα φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔπεμψαν, ρ 148 f., may almost be taken, if the *Pilot* be held as proving that conditions must have been unfavourable, to admit that they were, but that the goddess overcame them. θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται, and Athené raises or stills a wind or changes it to another just as she pleases. I need only refer to her action on behalf of Odysseus in ε 383 ff., and again in 427. Possibly the *Pilot* is right, and Telemachus' journey against the wind would have been slow, but he was in luck, with a goddess helping him, and the voyage, as he himself says, was in consequence a quick one. Let us remember we are dealing with the story of an epic poet, not with the narrative of a historian careful of every detail of an expedition.

Mr. Brewster[1] objects to Daskalio that the Wooers could have watched from the hill at the capital itself, Polis. 'Concealment of their movements was no more easily possible from Daskalio than from the Bay of Polis,' which seems a

[1] *HS* xxxiii 66.

very questionable statement. 'Their attack on Telemachus would occur in the same spot from whichever place they started. The story of the assembly in β shows that they had no fear of interference from the islanders.' So it was absurd of them to leave comfortable quarters for inhospitable Daskalio.

How it can be argued that the Wooers had no reason to fear the people I cannot understand. The evidence seems to me to be all the other way. Telemachus certainly had a following, *οὔτε τί μοι πᾶς δῆμος ἀπεχθόμενος χαλεπαίνει*, π 114. He can, in time of need, get the assistance of individuals who can be described as *ἀνὰ δῆμον ἄριστοι*, δ 666. We learn from ξ 376 f. that there were two factions, *ἠμὲν οἳ ἄχνυνται δὴν οἰχομένοιο ἄνακτος, ἠδ' οἳ χαίρουσιν βίοτον νήποινον ἔδοντες*. In the book, β, referred to by Mr. Brewster, there were mutterings, as by Halitherses 167: *ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὶν φραζώμεσθ' ὥς κεν καταπαύσομεν*. Antinoos in reply threatens him for inciting Telemachus but is glad to change the subject to Penelope. In 239 ff. Mentor blames the people for sitting quiet, many against a few. In 325 ff. some of the Wooers apprehend that Telemachus may bring assistance from outside and compass their destruction. They have made themselves such a pest that they may even be poisoned off. And compare δ 667 ff. But listen to their leader, Antinoos himself, π 375, *λαοὶ δ' οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦρα φέρουσι*. He has, 381 f., the gravest fears, if the ambush become known, that they may be banished from the country. It is no wonder the ambush and murder were arranged at some distance from the capital.

Yet again, it is said in δ 846 f. that Asteris has *λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι*. The Leukadists and Mr. Brewster[1] affirm that such are to be found in Arkoudi, but not in Daskalio. The latter part of the assertion will be dealt with later on; the former may be denied unhesitatingly. But first, what is meant in Homer by a *λιμήν*? In many passages we have only the bare word, but in others there are indications. There is something like a definition in ε 404, *λιμένες νηῶν ὄχοι*, where the authorities translate the last word by 'something that contains,' 'receptacles,' *capaces navium*. And where a particular *λιμήν* is described, as in ι 116, κ 87 ff., and ν 98, protection within certain surroundings is expressed or

[1] *HS* xxxi 134 f.

implied. The epithets are confirmatory—γλαφυρός, κοῖλος, ναύλοχος, εὔορμος, πάνορμος, and so are the prepositions ἐν and ἐντός. So is the expression λιμένες θαλάσσης, ε 418, where Odysseus, swimming along the coast, is looking for inlets protected by ἠϊόνες παραπλῆγες. A good λιμήν is so encircled that it has but a narrow entrance—ἀρετὴ δὲ λιμένος ἡ λεπτὴ εἰσίθμη (Eustath. 1562 on ζ 264).

Now consider the so-called λιμένες of Arkoudi. I refer to *JHS* xxxiv 233 f., and the evidence of Professor Manly, who examined the locality with Dörpfeld and rejected the suggested 'havens.' Professor Manatt[1] accepted them, but only, I gather, like Dr. Leaf, on a view from a steamer. But we have two photographs, one in Seymour's *Life*, page 70, and another in Goessler's *Leukas-Ithaka*, page 48. These show two stretches of sand with a little, low promontory jutting out between them. If these are λιμένες, then almost any piece of beach is a λιμήν. Boats can be hauled up on them, as in hundreds of spots in the Aegean, but that is all. In one of the photographs a boat is shown on the jutting spit, but with a calm sea. A boat can lie on almost any shore in fine weather. It is amazing to find these bits of shore described by Seymour, Manatt, and Leaf as 'harbours'. Mr. Brewster says 'there is no ocean swell possible,' but that is hard to understand. A swell such as an Atlantic or Pacific Coast experiences, may be impossible, but there are fifteen miles of open sea toward the east—strictly the east-south-east—which the Arkoudi shore faces. Paulatos[2] says the first πνοή of a south-east wind makes the approach of a vessel impossible, and that the waves dash over the neck of land. Belzner (p. 46) is surely right when he says, λιμένες ναύλοχοι, 'schiffbergende Häfen sind diese Anliegeplätze nicht.' Mr. Brewster further affirms on experience that 'a breakwater awash at high tide will protect boats lying in its shelter,' but surely not against waves dashing over in a storm? He also refers to Cumae and Monemvasia as places that had important trade, though they had hardly more than sandy beaches. But Smith's *Dict. Geog.* gives the former 'two excellent ports,' while the description of the facilities at the latter given in the same work, *s.v.* Epidaurus Limera, and in

[1] *Aegean Days*, pp. 377 and 384.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 117 f.

Bursian[1] do not seem to admit of any comparison between it and Arkoudi—regarding which island, it may be added, there is no suggestion that the 'harbour' accommodation it offered was ever taken advantage of, while Daskalio has certainly been inhabited. In short, these patches of sand appear to be worlds away from the λιμένες of the *Odyssey*. A port and a mere beach on which vessels could be hauled up are very different things. We want real havens, such as ἀνέμων σκεπόωσι δυσαήων μέγα κῦμα ἔκτοθεν, ν 99 f. It is no wonder that Dr. Leaf, in his final judgment (p. 353), can do no more than damn these Arkoudi beaches with the faintest praise—'the twin *harbours* are *not imposing*, but *I think they will do*' (my italics). This seems to mean that in Leukadist interests it is most desirable that something better should be found.

Paulatos (p. 118) tells us there is an ἀληθὴς ἀμφίδυμος λιμήν to be found close by on Kalamos, and Dörpfeld may yet transfer his affection to it. But the exact meaning of ἀμφίδυμος has been the subject of discussion, and the authorities differ. I will return to the point. For the present I only observe that all are agreed that two λιμένες are implied. Now, granting that the one on the right in the photographs of the Arkoudi shore can be described as a λιμήν, the one on the left most certainly cannot. Protection such as a Homeric λιμήν gives there is none. It is a straight line making with the jutting spit an angle so obtuse as to be hardly an angle at all. Arkoudi does *not* provide the required twin havens.

Another consideration is this, that Arkoudi may be the Krokyleia of B 633. Some have thought that Arkoudi and the island of Atoko south-east of it are the Κροκύλεια and Αἰγίλιψ τρηχεῖα of that passage in the *Catalogue*; others that these latter were the names of districts of the island of Ithaka. For the views held see the references in Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang*, and Ebeling, *s.v.* Κροκύλεια. Some modern map-makers, as Kiepert and Murray's editor, give Arkoudi and Atoko these ancient names with a note of interrogation. So also Gandar in his map in *De Ulyssis Ithaca*. The language of the *Catalogue* does not help much, though the epithet τρηχεῖα may seem to some to give Αἰγίλιψ a separate standing of its own. Also, in the few cases in the *Catalogue* in which a

[1] *Geogr. von Griechenland*, II 138.

tract or subordinate district is described, words are used to indicate this, as 575, *Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα*, 750, *περὶ Δωδώνην*, 757, *περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον*. But we have evidence in a passage of Pliny quoted in part by Mr. Allen (p. 91). In a list of islands in the region now under reference Krokylea and Aegialia are mentioned. This may be taken as ground for believing *Κροκύλεια* and *Αἰγίλιψ* were islands. If, then, Arkoudi is Homer's *Κροκύλεια*, it is not his Asteris. But this will not appeal to those who believe that the *Catalogue* is late, that the region may have been affected by a 'telescoping process,' and that there may have been interchange of names.

Further, it struck me to consider whether the modern name may not have come from the old one. By a common metathesis Krokyleia might have become Ork-kyleia, which is not far from Arkoudi. The lengthening of a vowel sound when the popular taste plays tricks with the consonants is not, I believe, unknown to philologists. 'Arkoudi' in modern Greek means, I am aware, 'a bear.' If the metathesis suggested above took place with a lengthening of the vowel, the conversion into Arkoudi might easily follow, as place-names connected with the bear are not uncommon. I am told that the historian[1] of Cephallenia considers that the name is Greek, 'probably preserved from the most remote antiquity,' and that it is a corruption of *Ἄρκτος*, quoting such names as *Ἄρκτου ἄκρα*, *Ἄρκτων νῆσος*, and *Ἄρκτων ὄρος*. But a leading philologist and authority on place-names in Athens, Professor Chatzidakis, to whom my bold suggestion was submitted, has replied that, in the absence of a form or forms intermediate between the ancient and modern names, it is quite unacceptable, so perhaps I should not have referred to it. On the point whether intermediate names are always preserved in such cases I have no knowledge.

I may notice here Mr. Brewster's suggestion that Arkoudi would be a station at which the Achaeans would keep 'guard-ships' for the protection of their commerce. In that case it seems to me passing strange that the poet refers to what must have been an important and well-known post in the terms which he applies to his Asteris. Surely he would have honoured it with a description less contemptuous than *νῆσος*

[1] A. Melianake, *Γεωγραφία πολιτικὴ νέα καὶ ἀρχαία τοῦ Νομοῦ Κεφαλληνίας*.

πετρήεσσα, οὐ μεγάλη. Considering the prominence in the *Odyssey* of these western seas and the navigation in them, we might even have expected to find some reference to this naval post, but we must not, with some critics, complain if the epic does not contain everything we would like to see in it.

And we have positive evidence that Daskalio is Homer's Asteris. First, there is Strabo's statement, x. 2. 16 (Didot), μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Ἰθάκης καὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας ἡ Ἀστερία νησίον· Ἀστερὶς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λέγεται. ἢ ὁ μὲν Σκήψιος μὴ μένειν τοιαύτην οἵαν φησὶν ὁ ποιητής,

λιμένες δ' ἔνι ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ ἀμφίδυμοι,

ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος μένειν καὶ νῦν, καὶ πολίχνιον λέγει ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλαλκομενάς, τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἰσθμῷ κείμενον.

So Strabo proves that there was in his day an islet with a name very like Asteris, lying between what were to him the islands now called Thiaki and Cefalonia, just where Daskalio is situated. And Mela ii 7. 10, quoted by Mr. Allen (p. 91), gives Asteria in a list of islands *in Ionio*. Surely this is good evidence. Herkenrath[1] is right when he says: 'auch Asteris kann angesichts der historischen Asterie nicht Erfindung sein.' Even Cauer (I 215), who with the Leukadists prefers Arkoudi, accepts the later name Asteria as fact—'Daskalio, das im späten Altertum Ἀστερία genannt war.' Paulatos (122) explains the name: ἡ περιφέρεια τῆς νήσου σύγκειται ἐξ ἀσβεστολιθικῶν στρωμάτων ἡ λευκότης δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τοσοῦτον ἔντονος, ὥστε προσδίδουσι χαρακτηριστικήν τινα χροιὰν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἥτις, μακρόθεν ὁρωμένη, δίκην ἀστέρος μαρμαίρει ἐν τῇ κυαν῀ῇ θαλάσσῃ, and Paulatos is speaking on personal knowledge. I may recall here that in *B* 735 a place Ἀστέριος is associated with λευκὰ κάρηνα,[2] and that Delos also was known as Asteria. But whether either or both these names of Apollo's famous islet was due to its whiteness I cannot say.

To the Leukadist, however, this evidence in favour of Daskalio is overwhelmed by the fact that it does not possess λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι, and, indeed, cannot boast of a λιμήν at all. Here let us consider the word ἀμφίδυμος again. One view is that Homer's description means there were two havens, one on each side of something, and the use of the word in regard

[1] *Bph W* (1910), 1270.
[2] Cf. Allen, pp. 123 f., quoting Strabo.

to Arkonnesos in the Propontis, quoted by Thomopoulos,[1] seems to confirm this—ἐν δέ οἱ ἀκταὶ ἀμφίδυμοι—for the shores in that case lie on either side of a narrow isthmus which spreads into the sea and broadens as it spreads. Strabo's statement, quoted above, is really to the same effect. Note the words ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἰσθμῷ. Now no isthmus has been mentioned; we can only infer that it is implied in the words he has quoted from Homer, λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι. Further, the reference to a πολίχνιον on the isthmus shows that the islet was inhabited in Apollodorus' day, as it has been since. There are ruins of buildings,[2] of churches, or of a monastery apparently, whence the names Daskalio (for Διδασκαλεῖον) and Mathetorio.[3] And if the islet was thus permanently occupied, surely there was harbour accommodation of some kind. We cannot suppose that Apollodorus invented the isthmus and the little town and its name. Is there any reason for disbelieving him? Has not Strabo's account the air of quoting him as correcting Skepsios with good reason? It is true Strabo says (i. 3. 18) that Asteria had not in his day even a good anchorage, but there were about 150 years between his day and that of Apollodorus.

The facts that there is no haven in Daskalio *now* and that there was none in Strabo's time are important only if it be certain that Daskalio is in size and circumference exactly what it was three thousand years ago. Now not only can that not be said, but there is even evidence that there has been considerable change. For one thing, the isthmus mentioned by Apollodorus has disappeared. Again, there is a very significant statement in the *MP*[4] that there is shallow water both to the north and south of Daskalio. That seems to indicate that the islet above water formerly extended farther in each direction than it does now. But on this point also we have good evidence from Paulatos. He affirms (122 f.), distinctly contradicting von Marées, that the rock is ἥκιστα σκληρός, κατ' ἐξοχὴν διαβρωσέως ἐπιδεκτικός, by no means hard and especially susceptible to erosion. The islet is, and no doubt always has been, used as a quarry by inhabitants of the neighbouring islands. They take the stone for housebuilding;

[1] 'Das homerische Ithaka,' p. 17, from the *Argonautica*, I 937.
[2] *JHS* xxxiv 232 n.
[3] Nitzsch on δ 844 ff., quoting Dodwell.
[4] iii (4th ed.), 321.

it was used in recent times for the construction of a breakwater, τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ λιμενοβραχίονος, for Vasiliki in S. Maura. On the north of the island Paulatos even finds the remains of a λιμήν, and mentions that he was assured by trustworthy witnesses that, within living memory, the rock at this point has disappeared to the extent of two metres. If all this be fact, and Paulatos' statements based on information acquired on the spot are not to be doubted, not much importance can be attached to the argument that there is no sufficient haven on Daskalio *now*.

The Leukadist also relies on the absence in Daskalio of anything that can be described as ἄκριες ἠνεμόεσσαι, or 'windy heights,' as the expression is rendered. In *JHS* xxxiv 235, I was inclined to agree with the solution of Bérard, who moved λιμένες and ἄκριες alike to the adjoining coast of Cefalonia. On further consideration I see no such necessity. There are, it is true, no hills or mountains on Daskalio, but in the only other passages in which ἄκριες occurs, ι 400, κ 281, and ξ 2, nothing of the sort seems to be meant. 'Slopes,' instead of 'heights,' would be a suitable rendering, and the application to such low rising ground as there is on Daskalio is not excluded. Once more I rely on the frequent usage of Homer, who does not always use a recurring expression with exactly the same meaning and force.[1]

To sum up: The absence of the two features referred to above can be satisfactorily accounted for. But even granting, what can never be proved, that Daskalio never had the required havens and has not the slopes, is this enough to invalidate the whole story, so complete, consistent, and intelligible otherwise, and to send us to Arkoudi, which is impossible on every test that can be applied? The Homeric description does not suit it; it cannot show λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι; the πορθμός in which it lies is, to say the least of it, much less of a strait than the Ithaka channel; Telemachus, making for the southern shore of S. Maura past Arkoudi, was courting destruction; there are probable grounds for believing it is Homer's Kroklyeia and consequently not his Asteris; there was a convenient and suitable hiding-place for the Wooers much nearer what Dörpfeld holds was their home; and last, but most important, positive evidence for Arkoudi

[1]Cf. Belzner, pp. 42 ff.

there is absolutely none. Evidence that is incontestable or even satisfactorily cogent we can hardly expect to extract from a work which is only a story, and not a professedly historical or statistical account of the regions concerned. We must be content to weigh the evidence pro and con that can be gathered from the text of the poem, and these, I submit, are very greatly in favour of Daskalio.

ASTERIS AND DULICHIUM

CP XXI (1926)

In *HS* xxxvi, Mr. Brewster has published a further statement on the Ithakan question. Much of it is directed against Dörpfeld's well-known Leukas-Ithaka theory, but on one point, the identification of Homer's Asteris as the island between Leukas and Thiaki now known as Arkoudi, he agrees with the originator of the controversy, and this requires that he establish two new propositions. One is that traffic from the Peloponnesus to Ithaka and the West went east of Thiaki instead of up the Ithaka Channel, and the other that Leukas is not, as Dörpfeld holds, Ithaka, or, as others believe, Dulichium, but the Homeric Samé. The paper ends with a criticism of my remarks in *CP* xix 297 ff., but his three essays are so packed with argumentation that a reply in full detail is out of the question. I shall group my further comments under a few main heads, and shall endeavour to include everything of importance, while avoiding mere repetition of argument.

ARKOUDI—ASTERIS

Arkoudi was brought into the controversy by Dörpfeld, but it is essential also to Mr. Brewster's new Leukas-Samé theory. I begin with its claim as based on the possession of havens which its rival Daskalio in the Ithaka Channel cannot show. In regard to this the defenders of the tradition have always maintained, not only that no one can prove that such havens did not exist on Daskalio in Homer's time, but also

that there is reason to believe that they did. And in addition they have contended, on the photographs—the most readily accessible is the one in Seymour's *Life*—on the evidence of Paulatos, on the inspection by Professor Manly under the guidance of Dörpfeld himself, and on the very faint praise with which Dr. Leaf greeted them, that these Arkoudi beaches are not havens at all.

Mr. Brewster now publishes a map of Arkoudi made by von Marées, an active participator in the controversy on the side of Dörpfeld, and thinks that it settles the haven question. I cannot agree. The beach to the left in the photographs is not in any sense a haven, and they must be correct in this respect. Moreover, comparing the outline of Arkoudi in this new map with the smaller outline in the official map, 'carte marine' (opposite p. 418, Vol. II) of Bérard, I find no correspondence whatever. The coast of Leukas in the map Bérard gives must be accurately drawn, for it corresponds closely with the same coast in the map (after Partsch) of Leukas in the beginning of Goessler's *Leukas-Ithaka*. Whence then this divergence in regard to Arkoudi? I cannot explain it, but until it is explained there is no change in the situation.

But to the above has of course to be added that just as Homer could, in the exercise of his right as a poet, which all admit, improve on the then existing havens of Daskalio for his purpose, or even create them, or, as Bérard thinks, transfer them from the adjoining mainland, so he might embellish in regard to the beaches on either side of the spit in Arkoudi. On this point therefore honours are easy.

The possibility deducible from the havens that Arkoudi may be Asteris is, however, of little avail against the considerations which prove that it cannot be. Every one of them is good evidence; in the sum, I submit, they are fatal. The first of those which it is necessary to recall is the case for the equation Krokyleia-Arkoudi. I gave my grounds in *CP* xix 312 f. Mr. Brewster has, I fear, not read them carefully, for he says (xxxvi, 89)[1] that my suggestion was 'quite unacceptable' to 'the only expert cited,' and so treats it as a mere 'possibility.' But he will see that it was not submitted

[1]This and similar references are to the three volumes of the *Harvard Studies* containing Mr. Brewster's papers.

to any expert, but only my question whether the word Krokyleia could have changed in the course of time into the word Arkoudi. My other grounds are not noticed. They are excellent support for Daskalio, and evidence of a kind wanting for Arkoudi. In fact, if Arkoudi be not Krokyleia, it is unknown to Homer and *λίην νώνυμος*, and that, be it observed, although it is to Mr. Brewster a very important Achaean station. It is very strange, as I said before, that if described at all in Homer, that is, as Asteris, it should be in terms that are almost contemptuous.

But there is another proof of the kind that is wanting for Arkoudi; Daskalio in later times bore the name Asteria (*CP* xix 314, and authorities quoted). Mr. Brewster allows this to be 'competent,' but says it is not 'conclusive.' Of course not; I am not so fond of that word in Homeric discussions. But it is good evidence, so good that all he can urge against it is the 'possibility' that, just as Leukas lost its Homeric name, so may the name Asteris have suffered and become Arkoudi. I admit the competence of the observation, but its evidential value is of the smallest, and it misses the point, which is that an islet, corresponding to Homer's description of his Asteris, was found just in the position suggested to old geographers by the Homeric narrative, and still bearing what was practically the same name, and one which in its applicability to Daskalio has been explained for us by Paulatos.

These two names are enough to shake the Arkoudi case, but there is more. In the first place, how came the Wooers to go so far afield, and how came they to pass by a spot much nearer home which was the most perfect place imaginable for their purpose, the bay now called Aphales, in the north of Thiaki? It is flanked by two promontories, and round the eastern one, now Marmaka, Telemachus was, *ex hypothesi*, bound to come. All they would have to do there was to watch the point and pounce on him when he appeared. Nothing could be simpler. Instead we are asked to believe that they went twice the distance to an island where their chances of effecting their object were enormously lessened. One has only to state the case to show its unlikelihood, and I am curious to see what possibilities can be urged against it.

But still further, and still more damaging to the Arkoudi

view, Mr. Brewster stations warships there to protect the traffic along his eastern route against 'robbery,' in other words against piracy. And here we have a company of men bent on piracy and murder on the high seas, who select as the place for their ambuscade, in preference to a perfectly secluded one much nearer home, the very spot at which a naval force was stationed to prevent such crimes. Is that credible? I suppose I shall be answered with yet another possibility, that the Wooers, *capables de tout* as we know, had 'squared' the Commodore of the Squadron, perhaps even lulled his suspicions μελιηδέϊ οἴνῳ, and I shall have again to admit the possibility in reduction of the force of my argument.

On the point of visibility from Daskalio all has been said that can be said. I observe that in xxxi 144 Mr. Brewster says 'the whole course of the channel was visible from it. The boat of Telemachus must have been easily seen for a number of miles.' But on page 59 of his present paper, after a careful calculation in feet, he adds, 'you simply cannot tell one boat from another at even less than a mile.' The statements may be reconcilable, but this calculation of heights and distances seems rather a severe method of treating the facts in an old epic story. It surely savours of the *Massstab einer wissenschaftlich genauer Ortsbeschreibung* of which Drerup (*Hom. Poetik*, i 198) disapproves.

THE EASTERN ROUTE

Homer's Asteris lies between Ithaka and Samé. To Dörpfeld, Leukas is Ithaka and Thiaki is Samé, and Asteris is Arkoudi, lying between his Ithaka and his Samé. To Mr. Brewster Thiaki is Ithaka, so Leukas must be Samé. That identification will be separately considered, but meantime, as Asteris is the place at which in the *Odyssey* the Wooers watch for a voyager from the Peloponnesus to Polis—the capital town of Ithaka and situated on its western shore—readers of his papers must wonder what Telemachus would be doing at Arkoudi beyond the north of Thiaki, instead of sailing up the western side of the channel between Thiaki and Cefalonia. I say readers must wonder, because I feel sure it has never occurred to anyone before that Telemachus would

make, and be expected by the Wooers to make, such a roundabout voyage.

This is a real difficulty, and it is one from which Mr. Brewster labours hard to extricate himself. He complains that I hardly discuss 'the evidence,' but it is not easy to follow the proof, or to discover what it is precisely that he seeks to prove, whether it is that the course from the Peloponnesus to Polis was, as a regular practice, to the east of Thiaki, or that it was only generally or occasionally so. What we want of course is a demonstration that it was so as a regular thing, for the Wooers are never doubting Telemachus will pass Asteris. But there was more certainty on the point in their minds than there appears to be in Mr. Brewster's, for while on xxxvi 66 his new route is 'the only route Homer knew,' it is on other pages (73 and 74) only probable, or quite as probable as the direct route. But then again, on the basis of the chart the latter is admitted (xxxi 136) to be more probable and (xxxvi 76) 'probable enough, perhaps,' but it is added (p. 81) that that is not conclusive. Of course not conclusive, but surely an a priori consideration so strong that it will need very good evidence to convert us to the new view.

In considering the evidence submitted I will deal first with the particular voyage which furnishes practically all the evidence on the point to be found in Homer. It was arranged for Telemachus by Athené, and as we read her instructions we are met with a prime difficulty on Mr. Brewster's new view. If he was correct, then all that the goddess had to say to her protégé was, 'of course you are going by the route everybody takes, past Arkoudi, but unfortunately it is barred by the Wooers. So you must instead land in the south of your island home, especially as I want you to go to Eumaeus.' Not another word was necessary. But she adds the further, and on Mr. Brewster's view absolutely unnecessary, instruction to keep away from the islands, that is, the two she has just mentioned, Ithaka and Samé. On the Daskalio-Asteris view there is nothing strange in that, for between the two islands runs the πορθμός where, as she says, the Wooers are. In fact it is interpreted for us by the poet, not explicitly stated in the manner of a modern historian, when he says Telemachus made for the

Pointed Isles or Echinades, whence he cut across to the south end of Thiaki and so avoided the danger against which Athené had warned him. Mr. Brewster makes a difficulty for himself when he says (xxxvi 59) it is a physical impossibility to keep away from an island and at the same time land on it. One must concur, but you can keep away from an island at first and then make for it, and that is just what the narrative shows that Telemachus did. Mr. Brewster cannot understand (xxxvi 82) this steering for the Echinades to begin with, but surely the injunction to keep away from Ithaka and Samé explains that. He goes on to say, 'it could not be to avoid the Wooers, because it was pitch dark, and they could not have seen him.' How can he possibly know it was pitch dark, and, if it was, how came the Wooers to cruise about at night looking for Telemachus? The explanation is futile; the simple and sufficient one is that the youth made the détour to avoid the mouth of the πορθμός against which Athené had cautioned him. Had the poet foreseen how his story was to be treated in these days, the instructions of Athené would doubtless have been too minute for critics to cavil at. But it is now known that the poet had his own ways of telling his story and that these can be discovered, and it is no longer the fashion to discredit a passage because it does not conform to modern ideas of literary composition. An interesting essay could be written on this very passage—the opening of the fifteenth book of the *Odyssey*—and the views thereon of exponents of Odyssean theories. Dörpfeld follows a number of them in abolishing it altogether!

For evidence of his new route Mr. Brewster depends on the 'prevailing winds' as described in the *MP*, but assumes the season was *summer*, in disregard of Professor Scott's demonstration in *CP* xi 148 ff., to which I referred him, that it was autumn. Again Bérard, depending on the *Instructions Nautiques*, finds no difficulty about the channel route. Which are we to follow? I prefer Bérard, for I cannot see that Mr. Brewster's evidence leads him to conclusions of any value. On xxxvi 81 all he says is that the seamen of Homer's time would find it 'easier' to take the eastern course. The channel route was thus not impossible, and of course it was much shorter. Again, it was only 'possible' for ancient ships to

sail, 'at least at times' from the Echinades to Arkoudi (xxxiii 68). That does not take us far. And again, they could not sail from those islands to the south end of Thiaki, because the night breeze from the land does not reach more than nineteen miles, and the distance across to Thiaki is twenty. The breeze, therefore, would not continue strong quite the whole way! There is not much in that either. But what are we driving at? Are we seeking to interpret an old story of a voyage, remembering that it is poetry, and poetry in which Mr. Brewster admits there is fiction; or only endeavouring to show, on our superior present-day knowledge of the Mediterranean, how the poet flouts the meteorology and navigation of his time? Does the poet pretend to give every detail of the voyage? If not, we are fighting a phantom. When I ask whether to Homer's readers or hearers Athené's promise, o 34, and her action in fulfilment of it, o 292, would not be enough to explain anything that might not completely agree with their personal experience of the winds and seas of Western Greece, Mr. Brewster demurs (xxxvi 82) that the question is not what course Telemachus took, but what he would be expected to take. I demur in turn. The former is the whole question, and not what he must have done on a new view of the route, and it is just the consistency of the details of the voyage which the poet has chosen to give that is Mr. Brewster's difficulty.

I have striven to understand Mr. Brewster's argument, but I wonder if I have succeeded when I consider, map in hand, what we are asked to believe. It is in effect that the preferable route from Cape Trepito in the Peloponnesus to Polis in the Ithaka Channel was not north-west (roughly) all the way past the south shore of Cefalonia and up the channel, but due north to the Echinades, then north-west to Arkoudi, then along the northern shore of Thiaki, and then down to Polis. It is startling to the ordinary non-nautical man, and he is not surprised that recourse is had to squalls. When I point out that another authority has enlarged on the danger from squalls in the sea to the east of Thiaki, the reply is that they are worse in the vicinity of mountains. No doubt, but then what part of the seas we are concerned with is free from this danger? And even a landsman may suggest that mountains, if they generate squalls, are also protective of

shipping. I referred to the Euripus and Dr. Leaf's description, for the purpose of a theory, of its dangers as almost prohibitive of navigation, and am told in reply that it is not in point, because traffic had to brave its dangers to avoid going outside Euboea. My rejoinder is that traffic would dare the horrors of the Ithaka Channel for say six hours, rather than face the slightly less dangers of the eastern route for twelve or more. These squalls are overdone, I repeat, to suit novel views. They are a danger everywhere in the Mediterranean, but in spite of them traffic went everywhere. Surely early seamen would have some weather lore, and would know when to sail and when to wait their opportunity to go up the channel and so halve the distance to Polis, even when there was no goddess specially *φυλάσσειν τε ῥύεσθαί τε*. When there is a deity present in epic story, his or her power over the winds is absolute. If Athené gave Telemachus a fair wind, there were no adverse squalls *that* night. It is going very far to test the divine action by our *Pilot*. I wonder if someone will ever be tempted, in dependence on modern handbooks, to analyse the hurly-burly raised by Poseidon in ε 292 ff.

And if Mr. Brewster be right, must we not wonder how Odysseus or his forbears came to put the capital at Polis? Every ship that arrived at or left it must have run the risk of these terrible squalls. Yet chosen it was, and two of the highest authorities, Bérard, after his careful local investigation, and the Admiral Ludwig Salvator, who spent several seasons studying the geography of these islands, and must have acquired intimate experience of these pests, have only the highest praise for the wisdom of the selection. To Mr. Brewster it must be an extremely foolish one.

And there is another difficulty. On xxxi 144 Mr. Brewster says Homer 'suggests quite strongly' that the ship of Telemachus, after he left it in the south of Thiaki, was not seen by the Wooers on Asteris when approaching Polis. I think I exposed the inaccuracy of this positive statement, and I now see that Bérard (ii 469) has the same conclusion. If the ship was not seen, how explain that the Wooers returned to Polis immediately after her? Obviously they saw they were foiled and that their enterprise was at an end. Mr. Brewster now only says (xxxvi 82) 'we are not told which side of

Thiaki the ship sailed to reach the city.' But it is clear, as she was seen from Asteris, which to him is Arkoudi, that on his view the crew had taken her from the haven now called S. Andrea, along the southern end of the island, up its whole length, round its northern end, and down to Polis, when they had the alternative of getting home by less than half the distance in the channel. Is that conceivable? Were there squalls that morning that affected the channel alone? Only by some such violent supposition can we imagine the crew taking such a course. They did not; they went up the channel, and were seen from Daskalio.

And lastly, we have the new view supported by an argument from Apollonius Rhodius. The reference is to an instance of what Mr. Seaton, in his Introduction to the Loeb edition, calls 'the astonishing geography' of the fourth book of the *Argonautica*. It is perhaps not the most astonishing incident, but one may doubt if such a bungled description of a voyage is to be found in serious literature. The Argonauts (iv 1223 ff.) leave Corfu and reach the Sinus Ambracicus, and then we find them at Acarnania ('the land of the Curetes'), but whether north or south of the north end of Leukas is not stated. But as they are next at 'the narrow islands'—obviously the conspicuously 'narrow' Insulae Taphiae, Taphos, Carnos, and Castos, north of the Echinades—they must have come through Leukas, either sailing through the lagoon or carrying their ship over the isthmus—a feat that would be child's play to men who afterwards carried her for twelve days across the Libyan desert. So they did not take Mr. Brewster's regular route. But if he insists they did, sailing down west of Leukas, and then between Arkoudi and Thiaki, what were they doing at the Echinades, which Apollonius mentions? They would coast down the eastern shore of Thiaki, and not go near those islands. The passage is a mere jumble, and to call it 'direct evidence' (xxxvi 70), and to base on it an argument for regular nautical practice, are very extreme proceedings. Let us bear in mind how Apollonius saves his credit later on when a still 'taller' tale is told—*Μουσάων ὅδε μῦθος· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπακουὸς ἀείδω Πιερίδων*. Do not blame the poor bard; he 'does but sing because he must,' and is not responsible for what the Muses put into his head, an apology that may have

been the model for that injunction in a saloon in the Far West, 'Do not shoot at the man at the piano; he does his best.'

And here I may notice Mr. Brewster's elaboration of Bérard's suggestion that the Odyssean geography is taken from an old Phoenician *periplus*, a suggestion that was the part of Bérard's work that found least favour. Mr. Brewster's attempt to prove the existence of an old sea poem or coast pilot in Homer's day is directed against Dörpfeld, and I need not criticize it in detail, but we have all learned by experience to distrust these pre-Homeric epics and other poems that are evolved by inquirers for specific purposes, and of which nothing is known *aliunde*. There is too much disregard of the caution against confusing stories and poems, in other words saga and epos. In the present case, in spite of μ 70, Meuli (who confesses his *viele unsichere Vermutungen*), Autran, with his equation of Egyptian and Aegean, and the Hymn to Apollo, I think it quite unnecessary to go beyond the *alte Märchenlieder oder -erzählungen* referred to by Drerup, *loc. cit.* The evidence adduced is certainly far from being 'conclusive' (xxxvi 53). The word is quite inapplicable to the evidence. To say that 'on this theory we have the right to assume' (xxxi 139 f.) that Telemachus followed the *periplus* in all particulars, or that 'the speech of the goddess is a repetition of the sailing directions' in it, is going very far indeed. There may have been an ancient Baedeker; more cannot be said. But one ground adduced provokes a further remark. Mr. Brewster dwells on a number of points in the geographical references to Ithaka in the *Odyssey* which he thinks are just such as would be noted in a work of the kind, but that seems to me to find what one is looking for. For myself, after reading the discussion, I cannot say there is a single matter of which the poet could not have become cognizant in the course of a voyage from the Peloponnesus, a short stay on Ithaka, and a sail round the island. And of course the notions of personal knowledge and a handbook of some sort do not exclude each other. We may see indications of one or other according to the motive which rules our scrutiny, but it seems to me to require some hardihood to assign any particular fact definitely to either source. We can do no more than conjecture (Drerup, *op. cit.*, p. 480).

LEUKAS—SAMÉ

So many and various have been the opinions in this controversy that it is hardly safe to say it, but I do not think it has occurred to anyone to make Leukas Homer's Samé, as Mr. Brewster now does. I have myself from the first followed Bunbury, Allen, and others, with whom Professor Bury now agrees (*CAH* ii 480), that Leukas is Dulichium. I refer to my paper on Meges and Dulichium in *CP* xix 140 ff., Mr. Brewster's only mention of which is a note on xxxvi 65. He thinks the explanation there of the famous *πρὸς Ἦλιδος* passage, *ϕ* 346 f., is the best that has been given, but adds that 'it depends on two premises: (1) that Dulichium is Leukas; (2) that *νήσοισι* referred only to Samé and Zacynthus. Neither of these is certain.' Had that been so, the explanation should, I think, have been described as the worst ever given, but I am at a loss to understand such a version of my argument. I did not assume either point. I argued, and with good reason, that Dulichium, from which Amphinomus came, and wheresoever it might be, is not included in the *νῆσοι*. Thiaki is mentioned separately. Two islands remain, and they must be Cefalonia and Zanté, as these alone can be described as lying *πρὸς Ἦλιδος*. Zanté is certainly Zacynthos, therefore Cefalonia is Samé. The proof is good for Dulichium.

My further argument in the same paper from a point, hitherto overlooked, in the Thesprotian tale, viz., the *κακὴ βουλή* formed by the crew of the ship, is not noticed by Mr. Brewster. He seems to be oppressed by the belief, which others have shared, that the shipmen went out of their way in order to have supper at Thiaki (xxxi 148 and xxxiii 66), but for that there is no warrant. At any rate the *κακὴ βουλή* makes all clear, and the story is excellent support for Leukas-Dulichium. But I need not repeat what I said before.

It is true, as Mr. Brewster says (xxxvi 67), that Homer, while he furnishes 'very little information' about Samé, gives 'a considerable amount' about Dulichium. It is also true that all this considerable amount is consistent with Leukas-Dulichium. We have seen how *πρὸς Ἦλιδος* and the Thesprotian yarn support it. Take next the names. It is almost impossible that the name Samé (='the height,'

vouched by Strabo, *σάμους ἐκάλουν τὰ ὕψη*; and cf. Bérard, ii 411 f.) can have been given to any of the islands other than Cefalonia, seeing that its mountain Ainos, now Monte Negro, is about half as high again as any in the other islands, and visible eighty miles away. It is doubtful if *Δουλίχιον* is 'Long Island,' from *δολιχός*, but if it is, it suits the long straight western coast of Leukas with its conspicuous white cliffs (*JHS* xxxiv 239 and Bérard, ii 481), which latter already in Homer give the later name in *Λευκὰς Πέτρη*. The combination in the *Catalogue* of Dulichium with the Echinades close by is also confirmatory (*JHS* xxxiv 230 f., and Bury in *CAH* ii 480). Mr. Brewster finds support for Samé in the numbers of the Wooers,[1] and so do I for Dulichium, but when he finds a 'striking point' in the equality of the proportions of the Wooers 3,000 years ago and of populations *now*, he seems to forget his own caution against evidence that is 'modern.' Then there is the order of enumeration of the three islands, corresponding to their position from north to south, and possibly to order of prosperity and importance, if not of mere brute area. Add to this the evidence from the epithets, *πολύπυρος* and *ποιήεις* of Dulichium, and *παιπαλόεις* of Samé. And, negatively, there is no contradiction of the *Iliad* in the *Odyssey* on the point of sovereignty. Odysseus ruled Kephallenes, Meges Epeioi, and it is nowhere stated in the *Odyssey* that Dulichium was part of the realm of Odysseus. That error, constantly repeated, has been responsible for much of the Leukas-Ithaka logomachy. And lastly, it may be noted that there is the competent archaeological authority of Mr. Thompson (*LAA* iv 133) on behalf of the identification.

There is thus good ground for equating Leukas with Dulichium and for questioning Leukas-Samé. Evidence for the latter, except Arkoudi and the eastern route, there is none. That is Mr. Brewster's misfortune, not his fault. But further, there is for him the extremely awkward fact that his realm of Meges, the Echinades plus Cefalonia (his Dulichium), is cut in two by the kingdom of Odysseus, consisting to him of Leukas (Samé), Thiaki, and Zanté. The difficulty has been felt by other inquirers, and is met by Mr. Brewster by two considerations. First, a possibility that the divisions

[1] It is worth noting that the enumeration of the Wooers from the four islands by Telemachus in *π* 247 ff. begins with Dulichium as the *Catalogue* does.

in the *Catalogue* are not political, but simply for purposes of war. It was so with the Germans in Caesar's time, and the 'general view' (a questionable description [Bury in *CAH* ii 474]) is that the Achaeans came in from the north. But it is also noted that the Echinades have the epithet ἱεραί or 'holy.' Why? Because they seem to be 'the natural locality for an exchange of cargoes' between the people of the Ionian Islands and those of the regions of the Gulf of Corinth, and, as Bérard has shown (i 120), 'all early places of trade were put under the protection of a sanctuary.' But Bérard does not appear to make this sweeping statement. He is only observing how the gods that stranger merchants brought with them to a point in Greece, helped, in their transactions, *inculquer le respect aux barbares de leur clientèle.* Moreover, the natural locality for exchange must be some half-way house, convenient for both sides. The Echinades could not be this for the vast mass of the traffic from the Gulf. They might be for the small fraction from the north-west of the Peloponnesus, as it and Cefalonia and Thiaki are about equidistant from them, but all three are so near to each other that it is impossible to imagine the necessity for an intermediate centre. Homer, who mentions a number of famous shrines, does not include this central fane of frequent resort, and it is not suggested that there is any trace of such a sanctuary in literature or tradition. The explanation must be rejected, and the difficulty of the combination of Cefalonia and the Echinades remains.

There is also, to use Professor Myres's words (*CAH* iii 674 n.), the 'change of names and jostling of inhabitants' which Mr. Brewster, like Dr. Dörpfeld, requires for his hypothesis. As to that it is urged (xxxvi 62) that Leukas could easily lose its name because invasion from the mainland would be so easy. Cefalonia was the natural refuge of the dispossessed Leukadians, and the name Samé is actually found on it. Indeed it may have been, it is said, a refuge for outcasts in general, as there is a tradition of an incursion of Taphians, a pirate tribe, it may be added, who were fond of incursions. Again we are met by mere possibilities. All that can be granted is that such changes may possibly have taken place. On the other hand, as already said, Samé, or 'The Height,' as a name for Leukas with the towering

Monte Negro a few miles away, is out of the question. And surely the name Samé in Cefalonia is better evidence for Cefalonia as its owner than a merely possible transfer from Leukas can be for Leukas. Mr. Brewster argues against Dörpfeld (xxxvi 61) that, if Thiaki ever bore the name Samé, and Leukas ever bore the name Ithaka, some recollection would have been preserved in either case. And if Leukas ever bore the name Samé, what about recollection there? Apparently none was preserved, and indeed there is no connecting link between Leukas and Samé. We are thrown back on Arkoudi-Asteris and a new, and, it seems to me, impossible view of the course of trade between the Peloponnesus and Polis.

LANGUAGE

Mr. Brewster adheres to his interpretation of πορθμός as 'trade-route.' It is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have said, but I must expose his error on one important point. He thinks the argument *ex silentio* is little worth. Now it is an extremely common habit in Homeric discussions to dismiss an argument of the kind in a summary way, but sometimes, as in the present case, it has real value. It is a question of opportunity on the part of the writer. Can it be shown that there are occasions on which he might have used the expression or referred to the thing in question, but does not? Better still, can it be shown that, having such opportunities, he substituted something else? I showed that this is precisely the case with πορθμός, so the argument *ex silentio* is sound, and most damaging to the new interpretation. It is based on Homeric fact, not on inference from post-Homeric usage.

Mr. Brewster describes his evidence on this point as 'quite conclusive' (xxxvi 70). Considering its very slender nature, I think he is unduly positive. Apart from his quotations from later Greek, it depends on *one* occurrence in Homer of the word πορθμεύς, which he says Homer defines in terms that agree closely with the idea of a common carrier, but which I venture to affirm agree more closely with the idea of a common ferryman. The definition is contained in υ 187 f. The lines π 227 f., to which he says I once referred him, are not in point, as there is no mention

of a πορθμός or πορθμεύς there. Line 228 cannot in any case be depended upon as supplying the missing connection, for it is a formula. There is a third occurrence, μ 40, with the variation θέλγουσιν for πέμπουσιν. The new theory depends on ν 187. In interpreting it we must be guided by line 210 of the same book Whether the δῆμος Κεφαλλήνων there mentioned, where Philoitios served, was in Cefalonia or on the mainland of Acarnania has not been, and perhaps never will be, determined, but in either case it certainly favours ferrying more than a trade route. Mr. Brewster argues that Odysseus had no flocks or herds in Acarnania. Then what of ἤπειρος in *B* 635 and ξ 100? His reply is that it is Elis. Then what is ἀντιπέραια in *B* 635? It must be Acarnania. In either case Odysseus had a footing there.

The argument *ex silentio*, with this weakness of the one Homeric support cited, is enough to warrant us in rejecting the new idea, but I will add one remark. Did any scholar, ancient or modern, ever doubt that the words ἐν πορθμῷ mean 'in a strait,' till Dörpfeld and Goessler, finding themselves in just that position, were driven to hammer out the new meaning of *Wasserweg* or *Wasserbahn?* I say nothing of modern scholars; Mr. Brewster is of course entitled to hold his own view against them. His predecessors may all have been astray, and Dörpfeld may have set them on the right path, and he may be advancing Dörpfeld to the ultimate truth. But what are we to think of the ignorance of the meaning of a word in their own language displayed by the ancients? We cannot surely discard their authority and deny their interpretation in this particular instance, because the word had other uses in later centuries, uses which it may even have had in Homer's day, though as to that no one can possibly say. I submit that nothing has been adduced of a nature to shake our confidence that the men of old were right.

And exactly the same must be said about other Greek words which are now explained to us in a new way. It is said that μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε is not 'strictly speaking, true of Daskalio.' It is not, if μεσσηγύς must be taken to mean that the islet was equidistant, or nearly so, from the two shores, but one has only to consult a Homeric lexicon to see that the word is used loosely to signify 'somewhere in the

space between' two objects or points. The same applies to μέσος in the phrase, also of Asteris, μέσσῃ ἁλί. It may be, to some tastes, better of Arkoudi; it is perfectly good of Daskalio. And as to the argument that the cruising of the Wooers took place ἐνὶ πόντῳ, will Mr. Brewster affirm that the application of πόντος, or ἅλς, to the stretch of water between Cefalonia and Thiaki is denied by Homeric usage? I trow not. But this is far from being all. A new meaning has to be found for the word ναύλοχος, viz. (of harbours) 'where ships may be safely beached.' This is 'when we consider the habit of hauling ships out on the shore.' And when we consider the habit of anchoring ships in a roadstead, what then? Mr. Brewster says (xxxiii 75) that 'the prehistoric navigators, instead of anchoring, pulled their boats up on shore.' Then who are the navigators who, in the poems, use εὐναί and πρυμνήσια? This new interpretation has never, so far as I am aware, occurred to anyone before, but support is found in Liddell and Scott's 'affording a safe anchorage, as it were the bed or resting-place of ships.' The latter part of the explanation is obviously epexegetic of the first, but Mr. Brewster very strangely decides that it is an alternative, and finds it more appropriate to his needs than the first. Again, one can only ask whether the men of old can be allowed to have known their own language. Next comes a line which I quoted, ε 404, οὐ γὰρ ἔσαν λιμένες νηῶν ὅχοι, οὐδ' ἐπιωγαί. There is no need, it is said, for the second epithet, but ἐπιωγαί is a noun, not an adjective. That word and νηῶν ὅχοι are taken as referring to the same thing, but it is enough to refer to the note of Merry and Riddell, quoting the scholiast. The ἐπιωγαί are not harbours or havens, like the λιμένες in the first part of the line, but roadsteads where ships might lie under the lee of the land. And finally, in regard to ε 418, ἠϊόνας τε παραπλῆγας λιμένας τε θαλάσσης, the authority of a translation of the *Odyssey* is quoted against me. The translator gives παραπλῆγας = 'shelving,' but in eight editions of the poem and four lexica that I have consulted, I do not find that meaning given. And surely the παρα-, especially when considered with reference to ἀντιπλήξ, which the commentators quote, will be difficult to explain on the new view.

The above appear to constitute a series of genuine linguistic novelties. Mr. Brewster may be right about them all, but he

seems to stand *contra mundum*. When we consider with them the other innovations to which he has been forced, I think we must say that the new case only multiplies difficulties.

ASTERIS

CP XXI (1926) 164

In connection with my paper on this subject, pp. 297 ff. of *CP* XIX, attention may be directed to the letter of W. R. T. Gunther, of Magdalen College, Oxford, in the *Times* of October 23rd, 1926. It is headed 'The Mediterranean Coasts: Changes since Classical Times,' and it was written with reference to the communication from Sir Arthur Evans, published in the issue of the same paper of 16th *idem*, on his 'Further Discoveries in Crete: I. Southern Port Found.' Sir Arthur states that he has identified 'beyond doubt' the λισσὴ πέτρη of γ 293, and adds that 'the Homeric geography' of this particular locality in Crete is 'singularly precise.' That is encouraging, and deserves to be noted. All I desire to add is this, that, if it be the case, as these two authorities assert, that it is known for the shores of Crete, of Alexandria, and of Italy, that there has been since Minoan times a subsidence of more than twelve feet, there can be no difficulty in accepting the same for Daskalio, especially as there is, as stated in my paper on the authority of the *MP*, shallow water at both ends of the islet.

ITHAKA

ANTIQUITY, 1927

Most of the contents of this paper will be found scattered through the other essays in this section. The part reproduced embodies what I think is matter of some importance. Are we to believe that this picture of Ithaka as a prosperous

island is all due to the imagination of the poet or poets? Did they invent all this for their hearers? That is not the way with such singers. *Cf.* Professor Murray's *The Tradition in Classical Poetry*, 190. Poets in the Heroic Age knew, he says, what they were describing and audiences the thing that was being talked about. To exactly the same effect Dyer, *The Gods of Greece*, 227. And I am glad to be able to add from the *Times* of April 26th, 1934, that Lord Rennell, whose knowledge of Ithaka and its surroundings is such as few writers on the subject possess, is convinced that the author of the poem had personal knowledge of the island. It may also be said of him that he knew the condition of things in the western islands generally, and reports it accurately. See conclusion of *Nerikos*, pp. 99 *post*.

ITHAKA

ANTIQUITY, 1927 EXTRACT PP. 406-8

But let us consider this objection[1] further by reproducing in some detail the picture of Ithaka as given in the *Odyssey*. In Achaean days Ithaka must have been forest-clad, as the poem says it was, and must have enjoyed the fine climate which it still shares with the other Ionian Islands. We further read that it had 'unfailing watering-places,' and that in the forest there was 'wood of every kind.' A grove of poplars, with an altar of the Nymphs, surrounds the cistern which collects the water of a spring for public use. In a garden are the olive and the vine, the apple, the pear and the fig. Olive oil, 'perfumed,' is stored in the house of Ulysses, and his bedpost of olive wood is famous. The tree thrives in these islands. One mentioned in the *Odyssey* has not been found; it could hardly, as Gladstone observed, be there after three millennia, though he added that he had seen in Cefalonia the shell of one 'thirty-six feet in circumference, which may have been of any imaginable age.' Even now, when the destruction of the forest has left but scanty soil,

[1] Professor Mahaffy's, that Homer drew his pictures from fancy, and not from observation.

the island produces olive oil and wine for export. And currants; a traveller has preserved the prayer of an old lady resident that John Bull might never lose his love for plum-pudding, for it would be a sore blow to Ithaka if he did. If the island at the present day does not actually flow with milk and honey, neither, as has been said in this controversy, does Canaan.

That farming was of minor importance goes without saying, but there was a certain amount of tillage. Ulysses himself was a champion mower and plougher. Manure was stored. Mules were bred for ploughing. There was vegetable cultivation with the hoe. Athene's statement that there was 'any amount of food' produced perhaps refers chiefly to the cattle, goats and pigs. Their flesh was the principal article of diet, but the table was furnished in other ways. Poultry was kept; witness Penelope's geese. Birds were snared, and perhaps killed by falconry. Wild goats, small deer and hares were hunted with dogs. Hares are plentiful on the island still. Fish seem to have been caught by the rod and netted in the sea.

There was specialization of industry, and the craftsmen were in a manner public servants, as in Indian villages. With bard, seer and physician, the carpenter is named, and the smith has his smithy. The potter does not appear, but the big jars in the palace storeroom, which recall those unearthed in Crete, may have been of local make, for the potter's craft was general in Greece of the time, and pottery a staple trade. Tools of various kinds were in use. Ships were 'many,' and may have been home made. There are numerous indications of luxury in dress, jewellery, and house furniture and utensils, and in the ornamentation of these with gold and ivory. Penelope's own chair, made by a famous artificer, was evidently a Sheraton piece of the day.

Again it has been remarked that there are, in Homer's pictures of life, many touches that are surprisingly modern. They are found even in the *Iliad*; they are of course more frequent, and more appealing, in the more domestic *Odyssey*. The old nurse lights her boy to bed and hangs up his clothes after smoothing out the creases, much as an old family retainer would do now. A visitor 'tips' the bathwoman and other domestics. The arrangement of house

and furniture does not sound strange to modern ears. The housekeeper has her subordinates well in hand and sees they do their work, even to the sponging of the tables after one of the late nights of Penelope's wooers. Those tormentors of the queen amuse themselves with draughts, perhaps of the kind found in the Cretan palace, or quoits or light javelins. A father gives his little son certain fruit trees 'for his very own.' There is in the town a *lesché*, a public house or lounge, where a wanderer can be accommodated if the smithy likes him not. And so on.

The above summary statement may be taken as indicating *prima facie* that there was no small degree of civilized comfort on the island, and that it had flourished under the benign sway of Ulysses. What were the sources of its prosperity? One was its flocks and herds. The king himself was conspicuous for the great size of those he owned, and he had grazing rights, and something more, on the mainland. And there was commerce. For Ithaka was, we know, an important centre, or port of call, as the last stage on the voyage from Greece to Corfu and the West. It was also the chief town of a maritime kingdom. An Austrian admiral, the Archduke Ludwig Salvator, who is said to possess intimate knowledge of the Ionian Islands, and who investigated the matter in the course of prolonged visits, has declared that no better location for the capital of the island realm of Ulysses could have been selected than that where the *Odyssey* places the town of Ithaka.

Such is the Homeric picture. It is of course open to anyone to say that the whole is merely a poetical figment, but surely the view that it is, in large measure at least, a reproduction of fact is as sane an explanation. Many will think it unlikely that an old bard, singing to a courtly audience of the deeds of heroes, would say the thing that was not, not once but repeatedly, and to men who were doubtless well acquainted with the facts. And why should it surprise us if increasing knowledge of prehistoric conditions should establish still further the fidelity of the poet's description of Ithaka? If the hero of the *Odyssey* himself, and Agamemnon and other great names, can be accepted by scholars of standing as real historical personages, it is surely not a far cry to the reality of the island scenes. There is good authority for the saying

that 'Odysseus on Ithaka is not myth or saga at all.' 'It would be astonishing, even inhuman,' Dr. Farnell has said, 'if none of the leading names of the agents in the war against Troy, or of the great royal dynasties of Mykenai, had been remembered and preserved.'

It is a prime difficulty with some that a mere tract of forest could not possibly attain to any considerable degree of material comfort and prosperity. There are regions in India, and doubtless in other parts of the earth, with rainfall, seasons and climate very similar to those of Ithaka, the inhabitants of which are singularly well off. Wood, water and grazing are plentiful, and cultivation, though limited to the area not under forest or scrub jungle, is carried on under easy conditions. And agriculture is not the only possible source of wealth to an island community.

LEUKAS—SAMÉ

A REJOINDER

CP XXIII (1928)

MR. BREWSTER again insists in *CP* xxii 378 ff., that the Homeric Samé is Leukas. Much of his matter seems to me to be only remotely relevant and much of his argumentation strained. I will deal first with what appear to me to be the points not of great significance.

I will say no more of his attempt to explain, by means of the sacredness of the Echinades, the fact that the realm he give Meges is cut in two by that of Odysseus. Six arguments on pages 383 ff. have been disposed of before. A long row through the Ithaka Channel could never have been an unavoidable alternative. Squalls, I repeat, are overdone, and the location of the capital of Ithaka in the channel is incomprehensible in face of the supposed dangers to navigation. As for the voyage of Telemachus, it was quite exceptional, directed by a goddess for a special end. The Argo seems to me to prove nothing; I come to Apollonius later on. Mentes' trade-route has not been ascertained, and never will be by

adopting Leaf's extraordinary proposition that the Homeric Taphos is Corfu. I refer to *CR* xxx 82. The most recent inquirer on the spot, Sir Rennell Rodd, holds that Mentes anchored in Aphales Bay—of which more presently—and not in Frikes. Arkoudi does *not* correspond to Homer's Asteris; the differences have been stated repeatedly and Bérard will be quoted further on. As regards my view of πρὸς Ἤλιδος in φ 347, I add the significance of Ἀχαιῶν in the very opening of the speech of Telemachus. The men of Dulichium were Ἐπειοί. The speech is consistent throughout in its exclusion of Amphinomos. I repeat that there is nothing in the story of the voyage from Thesprotia inconsistent with Dulichium-Leukas, but I do not pretend to know every detail from a feigned tale. It was a ψεῦδος, but ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖον, and it proves all I claim. I am not aware that I hold the opinion that Acarnania—surely Mr. Brewster means a bit of Acarnania—was an important part of Dulichium. I know no other meaning for 'pitch dark' than just pitch dark. It is true, as Bérard says in his *Navigations d'Ulysse*, i 274 f., that Aphales is open to the north; it must have an opening in some direction. But Sir Rennell Rodd observes (*Ithaka*, p. 121) that it is 'sheltered from the *east*, *south and west*.' With, as Bérard admits, a small beach, what more was wanted? The notion that the Wooers would leave it aside and go all the way to Arkoudi, with shores exposed to storm, with a stretch of open sea to watch, and—so Mr. Brewster thinks—an Achaean warship there to prevent such piracy as they were bent on, cannot be entertained for a moment. Mr. Brewster may obtain acceptance of his inference on page 387 as to invasion and dispossession, but I doubt it; the grounds are too slender. The necessity for postulating and the impossibility of proving such shiftings of peoples have been felt by the supporters of Dörpfeld's hypothesis. As to names, there is little that can be said. Leukas has been Leukas ever since Homeric times (see ω 11 and Bethe's reference to the Alkmaeonis in *Rhein. Mus* [1907], p. 326). It had, we are agreed, another name, Dulichium or Samé. There is no direct evidence as to either, though it might well be called Dulichium from its long and almost straight wall of western coast—much more appropriately than Cefalonia with its very irregular outline—and

could hardly be called Samé, 'the height,' with Monte Negro in the vicinity. And had it been Samé, part of the dominion of Odysseus, we may be sure the Corinthians would have revived the name for the epic fame attaching to it. Mr. Brewster thinks Samé would be an insignificant name compared with Ithaka. In romance perhaps, but the great size of the island, and an exceptionally prominent landmark such as Monte Negro, would make it as familiar as Ithaka to dwellers in the vicinity, and even more so to mariners and others voyaging there from and to Greece.

This, however, is mostly stale argument on scanty evidence, and not very profitable in result. But there is matter more serious and useful. Manatt said Asteris was the key to Leukas-Ithaka. Just so is Arkoudi the rock on which Leukas-Samé is wrecked. But before considering it I must first make my position clear in one matter.

The lines in the opening of ι would require a long essay to themselves, and I will only say that I demur absolutely to the conclusion that, because Homer does not describe the position of Ithaka with the precision of a modern geographer, therefore he had never visited the locality. That seems to me going very far indeed. But I add, for myself, that I object strenuously to my words in *CP* xxii 202 being treated as a confession of faith, and as pinning me down to the conviction that 'such details as the poet gives could only come from a real observer.' I believe Homer had some personal knowledge, but how far he relied on that, how far on information from other sources, I do not pretend to say. It seems to me, with all respect, that Mr. Brewster is too easily satisfied on such points—and a little too free in some of his statements. Thus it cannot be said that it is the general theory that Homer composed the epics in Ionia. To many distinguished authorities the doctrine has been and is anathema. And even the believers in Ionia admit that their poet or poets worked on lays from the mainland. And, even if Homer was an Ionian, he might surely have visited the Ionian Islands. Mr. Brewster says there is 'no direct evidence' that he did. Is any to be expected? Mr. Brewster's indirect evidence has been referred to above. By his method it could be proved that Caesar never saw Britain.

I pass to the trade-route from east to west via Arkoudi.

I criticized in my last paper the geography of Apollonius Rhodius, and have nothing to add. As to the evidence from the *Argonautica* of a trade-route, I pass the facts that, as Miss Bacon shows in *The Voyage of the Argonauts*, pp 110 ff., there were three other routes, and that we have no clue to what versions of the return journey were current in Homer's time. If it were worth while, one might argue that the only one that Homer knew was *not* by the western seas. It is enough to point out that the conclusion as to a trade-route takes us no farther; we knew it already. As Mr. Brewster says, 'commerce between the Ægean and the West Mediterranean existed before Homer.' But, he proceeds, 'it seems probable that the story of the Argo reflected the adventures of sailors' to the west. That to me seems extremely improbable. Had he said east, he would have hit what has been the general view. He quotes on this point Glotz's *Ægean Civilisation*. I have only the French original. Searching it I find a bare allusion to the *toison d'or*. Mr. Brewster, however, is so impressed by the fact that Apollonius brings the Argonauts this way that he thinks the story, i.e., the Argonautic saga, 'may well have been the source from which Homer took' this description of the voyage of Telemachus. I think an unbiased opinion will be that the notion is extremely far fetched and trivial. The voyage was a short and in itself a quite unimportant one, and Homer would hardly need to invoke a saga!

On page 383 it is said that we do not have 'sufficient evidence to say with reasonable certainty which side of Thiaki' a ship would ordinarily sail going from Pylos to Polis. But surely the fact of a regular trade-route by Arkoudi and the awful dangers of the Ithaka Channel settle that for Mr. Brewster. It must go by Arkoudi. I, on the contrary, find sufficient evidence, and evidence as direct as we can get, that the ship would go up the channel. I have stated it before. And one must after all have some regard to the story, as well as to geography, meteorology, and speculation. If Mr. Brewster is correct as to Arkoudi, the proceedings of Athene are beyond explanation. Her instructions to Telemachus are, as I showed before, unintelligible. And not only that, but, as Bérard somewhere remarks, she allows his father to come down from Corfu to the same spot, where the Wooers

will capture him, unless the guardship of the Achaean admiralty prevents them. From whatever point of view we regard it, Arkoudi is impossible.

On page 381 Mr. Brewster has a collection of passages on it, but the omissions are more striking than the substance. It is not stated that Manatt only passed and repassed Arkoudi, or that Leaf saw what he calls 'the harbours' from two miles away, nor are we given the expression of Leaf's disappointment, 'they are not imposing, but I think they will suffice.' And there is no reference to Professor Manly's *Ithaca or Leucas* in the 'University of Missouri Studies,' vol. ii. That is a conspicuously fair, full, and clear statement of Leukas-Ithaka. I need not be taken as acquiescing in all its conclusions; no two writers about matters Ithakan are in complete accord. But it contains one point specially useful for present purposes. Professor Manly made 'an examination of the coast line under the guidance of Dr. Dörpfeld.' It 'showed no such harbour.' The shore is 'practically a straight line,' as I have urged before is clear from the photographs.

And what of Bérard, who is not quoted? Here is an explorer who knows, one might say, every mile of the region, land and sea alike, and has made careful inquiry. I refer to his narrative in *op. cit.*, pages 422-40. Arkoudi, he says, does *not* correspond to Homer's description of Asteris as *οὐ μεγάλη*—doubtless with litotes = *μικροτάτη*—and *πετρήεσσα*. It has two villages, and is an *île de bonnes terres et non de pierre*. (To exactly the same effect the high authority of Paulatos, a native of Ithake, in *ΠΑΤΡΙΣ*, 117.) As to 'harbours,' *il n'a pas plus de ports que Daskalio*, but only *criques dangereuses*, and, as for their usefulness to mariners, *sauf par un temps exceptionnel ou par nécessité, jamais caïque n'est resté pour la nuit sous Arkoudi*. On the least sign of 'wind or swell' ships have to leave without delay. Much of this is on the testimony of an American who has bought Arkoudi and has planted vines and olives. It can be of no benefit to Leukas-Samé to continue to repeat that Arkoudi corresponds to Homer's Asteris.

Mr. Brewster refers to the map of the island by von Marées, which he reproduced in *HS* xxxiii. There is one in Bérard's *op. cit.*, page 417, and on the same scale, that is about fourteen hundred yards to an inch. Surely the photo-

graphs are more useful than such maps. But even the latter show how worthless for the protection of shipping these 'harbours' are. No, I am not, as Mr. Brewster thinks, under any misconception about them, and the foregoing extract from Bérard clinches the matter.

I must refer again to the philology of Mr. Brewster's papers. Of the novelties in his previous paper I have nothing to add to what I have already said, except about his idea that πορθμός = 'trade-route,' and I mention it only to mark what seems a strange confusion of thought. He begs his readers to consider a number of passages which he has collected from Greek authors from Pindar to Strabo, and I trust they will look at them and give them their real value. He prefers these authors to my 'ancients,' who are, as he rightly thinks, ancient interpreters of Homer. But the comparison is not between these two classes of authorities, but between Mr. Brewster and my 'ancients.' The latter had all the authors from Pindar to Strabo that Mr. Brewster has, and many, many more, and we know what their interpretation was, and, with all respect for Mr. Brewster's qualifications, I feel I must follow them as interpreters of Homer in preference to him. I need not repeat what I have said before about his passages. They are to me quite nugatory. What he should give us is a series in which πορθμός not only means but can only mean 'trade-route,' and in which the trade-route is defined as 'the trade-route of' this island or that, as the trade-route of Zakynthos and Elis, of Cythera and Crete, and so on. It surely cannot be difficult, for there must be thousands of passages in Greek literature referring to voyages in the Mediterranean, and all such navigation is on one trade-route or another.

Mr. Brewster has two more philological suggestions, and they seem to me as weak as any of those already put forward. One is a new view of ἀντιπέραια in *B* 635, and it is said to be *positive* evidence that Leukas is Samé. He notes that the word is a plural, which it undoubtedly is in form, and adds that it 'would include all shores,' that is, a number of antiperaions, in different parts of the region under reference. I do not myself believe that it would or could, and I am not aware that it has ever been taken to mean more than one locality. The word is a plural form with a singular meaning,

and the mere form is no bar to what has been the universal interpretation. The other point is πρώτη ἀκτή in ο 36. Mr. Brewster wishes to have Telemachus land at Ligia on the east coast of Thiaki, but by no possible stretch of language can Ligia be described as πρώτη (προάτη; see *CP* xix 302 f.) to Athene speaking in the Peloponnesus. We have only to look at the map. Ligia lies away in a corner by itself, well up the coast, and separated from the extreme south of the island by a stretch of high ground running east and ending in the promontory called on Bérard's map in *op. cit.*, page 17, Iganni. The port of S. Andrea is perfectly described by the words.

And while I am on the subject of language, let me say that I do not repent my suggestion that the word *Arkoudi* may be a corruption from *Krokyleia*. Metathesis is not rare. One instance, and a place name too, is *Thiaki* itself from *Ithaké*. With ρ it is common. An ancient example is Κάρπαθος and Κράπαθος. πικρός has become πρικός in modern Greek, ἀρσενικός σερνικός, and so on. But let the philologians decide; there is other very good ground for the identification of Arkoudi with Krokyleia. Pliny's Crocylé is excellent evidence, and it may be added that with it he names an island, Aigialeia, which in form is not far from Krokyleia's fellow, Aigilips, in *B* 633. And as I have said before, the cartographers Kiepert and Grundy mark Arkoudi with 'Krokyleia?' I now add the authority of the geographer Oberhummer. This from page 25 of *Untersuchgn. zur Geogr. d. Odyssee*—a series of exhaustive essays too little referred to in these days—of Gustav Lang, who agrees with Oberhummer. Lang also quotes Steph. Byz., Κροκύλειον· νῆσος Ἰθάκης, and observes that it would be strange if the *Catalogue* mentioned divisions of Ithaka, and divisions which are never referred to in all the events and comings and goings of the *Odyssey*. If the poet is describing districts, the proceeding is absolutely unique in the *Catalogue*. And nothing will persuade me that Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν in *B* 633 is a district of an island that was τρηχεῖα throughout.

And there is a similar piece of evidence which the disturbers of the tradition sedulously avoid. Strabo x. 2. 16 says μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Ἰθάκης καὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας ἡ Ἀστέρια νησίον, and the islet, he says, is the one that Homer calls Asteris.

It is mentioned also by Mela ii 7.10 (Allen, *Catalogue*, p. 91). That name is worth pages of the mere arguments and speculative verbiage that both sides in these controversies have freely expended. Add it to the Krokyleia evidence and all the other considerations that can be urged against Arkoudi, and the weight of the whole, as it seems to me, brings down both Leukas-Ithaka and Leukas-Samé *non leni ruina*.

I may add here some matter that appears to be of interest in connection with the Asteris problem, and which I was on the point of publishing separately. It relates to the foreshore of the town from which I write, St. Andrews. The rocks run out from it in parallel ledges. If anyone desires to see their nature, he can do so by referring to Gustav Lang's book referred to above, in which he will find as frontispiece and on page 49 photographs of the northern and southern ends, respectively, of Daskalio—the former, by the way, actually showing a boat in a small recess in the shore. The rocks, it will be seen, are in parallel ridges, just as I have said those at St. Andrews are. Now I mentioned once before, on the authority of Paulatos, an Ithakan thoroughly familiar with the region, that the rock of Daskalio is easily eroded—κατ' ἐξοχὴν διαβρώσεως ἐπιδεκτικός (*op. cit.*, p. 122)—and that one end of the islet has been appreciably diminished within living memory by quarrying, and especially by the removal of stone to make a breakwater at Leukas. No doubt the lines of rock now visible were much longer three thousand years ago. That might be argued on what I have already said, but two facts strengthen the inference: first, the Admiralty chart shows shallow water at each end of the islet, and second, there has been—see my note in *CP* xxi 164—a considerable subsidence of land in the Mediterranean even since classical times. Partsch, I may add, saw remains of walls beneath the water in the Gulf of Samé.[1] Putting all this together, we can have no difficulty in believing that Daskalio was in ancient times considerably longer than it is now. Professor Manly suggested that Homer's Asteris may be an island that disappeared entirely through an earthquake. It is not impossible, for the region is one, as he shows, where destructive earthquakes do occur, but it does not seem neces-

[1]Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 46 n.



THE FORESHORE AT ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND

To face page 76

sary to go so far, though of course an earthquake may have damaged one end or both of Daskalio. Nor do I think it necessary to adopt Bérard's ingenious solution of our difficulty, involving a change—only, it is true, of ἔνι to ἔπι in δ 846—of the Homeric text. He would locate the λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι on Cefalonia, near its northern promontory, Guiscardi.

Now, as regards the St. Andrews shore, let me give a quotation from *Rambles round St. Andrews* (1910) by the late Dr. Wilson, a local authority and lecturer in the university.

> The rocks to the east of the Castle lie in long parallel chains, exposed at low spring tides to a distance of several hundred yards. Here . . . the hardest rocks have remained as ledges, while the long straight channels or reaches have been scooped out of the softer strata to form what are called lakes. One . . . is known as the Hind Lake. The word Hind means a haven. [It is not to be found in the *NED* or in Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*. I asked an old fisherman what it meant, and he replied promptly, 'Oh, just a haven.'] It is to this lake that the fishing-boats [probably not far, if at all, inferior in size to the Homeric ship] go when the water is too low to admit of their entrance into the harbour.

There are a number of these hinds, as may be seen from the accompanying photograph. One of them Dr. Wilson describes as a 'deep, natural, docklike basin.' Is it not likely then that, when the lines of rocks at the ends of Daskalio were longer than they are now, natural processes operating on the soft stone produced the same condition of things there? Can we doubt on this evidence that the islet had three thousand years ago havens large enough to admit a Homeric ship? They might not be such as to be dignified with the high description ('harbours') which advocates of Arkoudi use of their bits of beach. Nor would they, I suppose, be much safer, though, as to that, it has to be remembered that the Wooers would be near home in case of stormy weather threatening, while at Arkoudi they would be helpless in face of a storm. But, just as I admit that Homer might, for purposes of his story, glorify these beaches of Arkoudi, so do I claim that he could enlarge the havens of Daskalio, if these were really not of a size and nature to merit the description.

But for the 'harbours' of Arkoudi the Leukas-Ithaka controversy would have ended years ago. It may now depart in peace, and Leukas-Samé, which also depends on the 'harbours,' with it. I do not see how anyone can read pages 41 ff. of Professor Manly's paper and reject the conclusion, to him 'irresistible,' that Cefalonia is the Homeric Samé. The name, 'the height,' is enough in itself. I refer to Bérard, *op. cit.*, page 217, *auprès d'elle les terres voisines semblent basses*, and Paulatos, *op. cit.*, pages 84 ff. The case for Leukas = Dulichium has been stated by Allen in his work on the Homeric *Catalogue*, by Vollgraff in his 'Dulichion-Leukas' in *N. Jbb.* xix, 617 ff., and by myself in previous papers. No one of the competitors, Petala, Meganisi, Samé or part of it, comes near Leukas. Details cannot be given here, but I will make one small new addition. I have noted before that in the mentions of Samé and Zakynthos, and of Dulichium, Samé and Zakynthos in a repeated line, geographical order is observed. I now note exactly the same order preserved in the enumeration of the Wooers and their homes in π 247 ff. Is this mere chance? With Dulichium as Leukas Homer's geography seems to me to be clear throughout.

I ought before closing to mention that Mr. Brewster is not, as I formerly wrote, the first to identify the Homeric Samé with Leukas. I have since recalled that the 'conjecture' was made by Croiset in his *Légende* in 1910, but his grounds are few and slight. It is interesting to note that he had yet another island, Atoko, to do duty for Asteris. It seems better suited than Arkoudi, for he says it has *plusieurs mouillages*. Croiset, by the way, makes a great mistake when he says the mountains of Leukas are the highest of all in the group of islands. The peak of Samé is almost half again as high as anything in Leukas, and is, as I have said, enough in itself to fix the name.

Evidently Mr. Brewster and I will never agree, and may continue to contradict each other and split hairs indefinitely. We both earnestly desire the truth, and, in spite of the poor regard each has for the other's arguments, I hope we have contributed something useful to the controversy. But it is desirable as he suggests, that someone *neutrius addictus iurare in verba* should intervene and sum up. I

repeat, as a last word, that the evidence for Leukas-Samé appears to me to be weak and questionable at every point. *ὀλίγον κρέας ὀστέα πολλά.*

THE ITHAKAN PROBLEM AGAIN

This was a criticism of a view propounded by Professor A. D. Fraser in *CP* xxiii 213 ff. and *CW* xxii 47 f., that Cefalonia is Homer's Ithaka and that Asteris is to be found in Thiaki, while Dulichium is located in Corfu. My paper is to be found in *CP* xxiv 60 ff., and its contents do not need to be summarized. Professor Fraser's theses cannot be taken seriously.

ITHAKAN ORIGINS

CP XXIV (1929) 335 FF.

In this paper evidence was collected—as regards Odysseus—in support of Mr. Casson's suggestion that 'Achilles symbolizes the Northern Race, and Odysseus the Mediterranean Race, which mingled to give birth to the Greeks we know.' The references in the poems seem to indicate a Minoan origin for the royal house of Ithaka.

Events have moved rapidly since the paper was written in 1929, and one may wonder now, if its thesis should be established, whether the *Odyssey* will not be proscribed for German educational institutions. A poem with a non-Aryan hero can surely not be tolerated by Herr Hitler.

But meantime, as I see from a letter in the *Sunday Times* of February 11th, 1934, one Herr von Wendrin has discovered that 'Troy and the Odyssey were glorious events in the old Prussian history, but Homer, as a Jew, falsified the stories.' So Homer also was non-Ayran, and if so, the *Iliad* as well as the *Odyssey* will have to be condemned, and

an end put to Homeric study in Germany. If all this seems fanciful, be it added that von Wendrin's book has been '*recommended officially by the Prussian Minister of Education for the new school libraries.*'

ALT-ITHAKA

CR XLIII (1929)

THERE is little that is new on the subject of Leukas-Ithaka in Dr. Dörpfeld's recent work *Alt-Ithaka*. To refute his arguments would be merely to repeat the refutations that have appeared—most of them in Germany—during the last twenty-five years. But consideration of a few leading points will suffice to show how weak the case for Leukas-Ithaka is.

First, let it be understood that it is vitiated by two fundamental errors. The first, that the *Odyssey* makes the realm of Odysseus consist of the four principal islands, has been frequently exposed. The other is that in the repeated line, *Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος*, the *τε . . . τε* shows that Dulichium and Samé are an *inner pair enclosed by* Zacynthus and Ithaka. There is no warrant for this.

Then let it be borne in mind that the theory requires the rejection of the *Catalogue*, of *ω*, and of the opening of *o*, and occasional manipulation of the text, for the justification of which we are referred to Dörpfeld's recent edition of the *Odyssey*.

And not only that, but we are also required to accept the very remarkable results achieved in that edition. Theoclymenus is Athene! The action of the poem originally occupied just ten days. Ogygia is in the extreme south of Italy, and Kirke's isle in the extreme south of Africa, with Laestrygonia adjoining it. And so on.

And then consider the violence that has been done to the Homeric language. For *πορθμός*, etc., see *JHS* xxxiv, 227 ff. For *χθαμαλός*, the worst case of all, I refer to a paper about to appear in the *CJ*.[1] The word in Greek means 'low,' 'low

[1] See pp. 85, ff. *post*.

lying,' except to some puzzled interpreters of whom Strabo had heard. Paulatos informs us that the modern Greek terms χαμηλά and χαμούνει, by which it is sought to establish the sense of 'adjoining the coast,' may be used of a ship, but *not* of an island near the coast; and Dörpfeld's argument from Aeaea and Laestrygonia deserves no attention. To realize how well χθαμαλός in the sense of 'low' suits Thiaki, especially against the heights of Cefalonia, draw its outline in vertical section, and bear in mind that the length of the island is some *forty* times the greatest height in it. ἀμφίαλος now connotes the contrast between the 'wild' open ocean to the north and the 'quiet' enclosed water to the south of the isthmus of Leukas. πολυβενθής is no longer 'very deep,' but *tief sich ins Land erstreckend.* ἑκὰς νήσων had, once upon a time, to mean *zwischen den Inseln durch, aber fern von ihnen.* εὐδείελος is *schönabendlich*, 'beautifully western'; but that is not insisted on. For the νῆσοι θοαί some Leukadists have suggested that they are not the Echinades, but that Telemachus 'directed his course' to the 'swiftly-gliding-past islands'! Dörpfeld, by the way, adheres to Bérard's absurd identification with the Montague Rocks, which Bérard now admits was a 'gross error.' ἀκτὴ ἠπείροιο suits the classical Nerikos, the only known Nerikos, perfectly: but another is needed, and one is found far inland, to which ἀκτή, if regard be had to its Homeric uses, cannot apply. δρόμος is now *Fahrstrasse*, a meaning not given in any of the five lexicons I have consulted. Even the little joke—as it was universally considered in pre-Dörpfeldian days, even by Leaf himself before he became a convert to Leukas-Ithaka—in the enquiry of newcomers must now take on a serious complexion. We may surely say that it is an extraordinary thing that the correct interpretations have been hidden for ages, and are only now revealed to Dörpfeld, Goessler, and Rüter. All this will constitute to later generations a real curiosity in Homeric enquiry; but the unfortunate point is that the practice has spread, so that in various ramifications of the controversy κραναός, παιπαλόεις, μεσσηγύς, ἐπιωγή, ναύλοχος, παραπλήξ and ἀντιπέραια, have all been subjected to the squeezing process.

It is claimed that with Leukas recognized as the Homeric Ithaka all is *klar* and *einfach*, and that all difficulties disappear. There seem to be some still:

1. The epithets and descriptions are surely fatal. Leukas could not possibly be said to be οὐκ εὐρεῖα and οὐχ ἱππήλατος, and does not correspond to the offer of Menelaus in δ 176. ἀμφίαλος alone seems to be decisive. Again, considerably more than half the action of the *Odyssey* is in Ithaka, which is mentioned with epithets over and over again, yet there is no reference to the white cliffs which are such a conspicuous feature of Leukas scenery.

2. What necessity could there be for Noemon, δ 630 ff., to take his mares to Elis, a journey there and back of about 120 miles by sea, with the plains of Leukas at his disposal and the pastures of the mainland close by?

3. In ω 430 ff. Eupeithes fears Odysseus may escape to Pylos or Elis. Naturally, if he was in Thiaki. But if he was in Leukas, surely Eupeithes would think of Acarnania.

4. Arkoudi is impossible as the Homeric Asteris. It has, as Bérard and others have shown, no haven that could shelter a ship. And for Athene to send Telemachus past it was, as Bérard puts it, *Navigations d'Ulysse* i 417, *tout à la fois une sottise et une trahison*. The youth goes to certain death. And his father too—with no Athene-Theoclymenus to protect him!—coming down from Corfu. Strange that the poet should have overlooked the danger to Odysseus! And the Wooers could never have gone for ambush to Arkoudi out in the open sea, with a suitable haven in the islet of Theleia nearer home, and with two good ones—*treffliche Häfen* Bursian calls them—in the north end of Meganisi.

And there is good reason for believing that Arkoudi is the Krokyleia of the *Catalogue* (*CP* xxiii 118 f.), and so cannot be the Asteris of the *Odyssey*.

5. On the other hand, it has been shown in *CP* xxiii 119 ff. that it is in the highest degree probable that Daskalio, the Asteris of the Ithakists, had havens three thousand years ago good enough at least for the poet to use in his story. The negative the Leukadists have to prove is that there were none at that time. In every other point the islet corresponds to the Homeric description. ἄκριες does not necessarily mean 'heights'; and, if it must, the poet does not say they were in Asteris. He may refer to the hills of Cefalonia close to the islet.

6. A comparison of the Nidri site for the capital of the

island realm with Polis in Thiaki is very greatly in favour of the latter, which is admirably situated for purposes of government, trade, and piracy. The Leukas site, in a low lying plain—though, as Bérard points out, there is a splendid site close by for a genuine Achaean *haute ville*—is at one end of the supposed kingdom of Odysseus, separated from the open sea and islands by a narrow channel, in which navigation is hazardous at any time, and so bad at night that the experienced captain of Bérard's yacht would not undertake it. And the capital haven is *not* πολυβενθής.

7. There is no ground for believing in the *Völker-* and *Namenverschiebungen* suggested. They are merely postulated to complete the Leukas-Ithaka theory. It is incredible that the expelled Ithakans should go no farther away from their Dorian enemies than Thiaki; it is incredible also that the Corinthians in a later century found no local tradition of the greatest national hero of Greece, no glorious heroic past to revive.

8. A point is made of the number of Wooers. The largest band, of fifty-two, is from Dulichium, so, as Cefalonia is the largest island, it must be Dulichium. The argument loses all force when one reflects that Leukas, if Ithaka, supplies only twelve. Cefalonia with its Monte Negro, which far surpasses in height any other mountain in these islands, is surely Samé, 'the height.' With Leukas = Dulichium, difficulties seem to be reduced to a minimum.

9. It has been admitted by some on both sides of the dispute that the Λευκὰς Πέτρη of ω 11, that is Cap Dukato in Leukas, is not in the Homeric Ithaka.

10. The question to newcomers shows that the enquirer is speaking *in an island*. He begins with the assumption that the stranger has come in a 'ship.' Just so in ω 299 ff. And you need a 'ship' to leave the island, σ 84 and 115, and φ 307.

These, it is submitted, are considerations that tell strongly against Leukas-Ithaka. But when we reflect in addition that the proof proceeds from two ungrounded assumptions, that our assent is required to Dörpfeld's views of late and early in the epics, and also to his new and startling ideas as to the action of the *Odyssey*, and, finally, when we recall the pressure put on words and phrases to compel a favourable sense, we must surely say it requires some hardihood to

describe the theory as *auf wissenschaftlichen Fundament aufgebaute*, while the Ithakists have built *auf Sand*. In sober truth there is little to be said for it.

The παννπερτάτη of ι 25 has inclined some to the Leukas view. But (1) no one can say for certain that the word means more than 'very far up' (*CP* xix 298 f.); (2) the comparison is between Ithaka and islands east of it, and to say that it is farthest up of all is quite accurate (*CP* xii 136 f.); and (3) even if the word be taken at its worst, the error may be admitted without much detriment to the geography generally. But (4) be it observed that, if the word be held to make Thiaki impossible, then similarly the ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι of ι 22 f. and the μετόπισθε of ν 241 rule Leukas out entirely.

The fact seems to be, as authorities on both sides have argued, that ι 24 is a gloss. It makes the meaning obscure; it occurs several times elsewhere, and the MS. authority is not unanimous. In such circumstances a line in any other Greek poem would be condemned at once. But let no Ithakist dare to make that suggestion here. That is rank blasphemy to some who can cheerfully cut out the *Catalogue*, ω, an inconvenient passage in ο, and can remake the *Odyssey* just as they would have it to be.

The fact that there is not exact correspondence between the topographical references of the *Odyssey* and actuality in Thiaki has also influenced some writers against that island. But Leukas is in even worse case. Dörpfeld seems to be far too ready with his identifications. But let those who object to the grotto on Thiaki and have a doubt about Neion turn to Leukas, and reflect that Neriton-Stavrotas is not visible, as (ν 351) it must be, from Phorkys-Syvota; that the capital haven, Vlicho, does not correspond to the Odyssean descriptions of comings and goings; that Skydi is an impossible landing-place for Telemachus if he is to escape the Wooers; that Nidri could never have been chosen as the site of the capital of the island kingdom; that Dörpfeld's location of Eumaeus is, Paulatos declares, in a hollow, the περίσκεπτος χῶρος of ξ 6 becoming a περίφρακτον δεσμωτήριον; and that the haven Rheithron simply cannot be found. It is useless to reply regarding the latter that it cannot be found on Thiaki, for either Aphales or Phrikes suits perfectly; the poet does not happen to supply data on which we can decide. Now

Dörpfeld, unlike most participants in the controversy, demands complete topographical correspondence. That cannot be predicated of Leukas.

Dörpfeld's very peculiar views on Mycenaean archaeology, to which so much space is devoted in *Alt-Ithaka*, and which do not appear to have gained much acceptance, are of little importance for present purposes, nor is his identification of a Nidri building with the palace of Odysseus. His chief ground for the identification seems to be that he has proved Leukas to be the Homeric Ithaka, but that has still to be done.

LOW-LYING ITHAKA

CJ XXV (1929)

In ι 25 it is said of Ithaka that it χθαμαλὴ παντυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται. The supporters of Leukas-Ithaka claim that the first word means 'adjoining the mainland,' and see in this evidence that by Ithaka Homer meant Leukas. The word occurs in four other places in Homer, and Professor Rebert in *CP* xxiii (1928), 377-87, maintains that in three out of the four the word has the above meaning. The general signification of the word is certainly 'low.' Liddell and Scott, for example, while mentioning ι 25, give no other. So also Stephanus.

The suggestion of the new meaning, which is known, I understand, nowhere else in Greek literature, is due to Strabo x 2, 12. But it must be pointed out that his words are far from indicating certainty on his part. After saying that the two adjectives in ι 25 are contradictory, he adds that enquirers 'interpret that not badly' (οὐ κακῶς), to wit, that the meaning of χθαμαλή there is 'adjacent to the mainland.' But he may be merely making the best of a bad job. He does not even say this is a common meaning of the word; indeed, if the sense was a familiar one, why this doubt at all? But Leukadists fortify the interpretation by a reference to the Modern Greek expressions χαμηλά and χαμηλώνει, said to be used in a similar sense. That is a point that can be, and

ought to be, settled by modern scholars in Greece. I only know that Paulatos, the Ithakan author of *Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΩΣ*: Athens (1906), 67, who certainly knows his mother tongue well and writes with assurance, ridicules the idea that these terms, which are used quite appropriately of a *ship* in the vicinity of the shore, can be applied to an *island* adjacent thereto. So we are thrown back for the interpretation on one passage which contains what may have been the merest guess by some of Strabo's predecessors, and we must say that the ground for this otherwise unknown meaning of the word is extremely weak.

Let us see, then, if any support can be got for it in Homer. In one of the four other occurrences, λ 194, of the bedding of Laertes, 'on the cold, cold ground,' the meaning certainly is 'low'; and no one, so far as I know, has yet asserted that it means that the old hero slept on the beach reclining against a cliff, and so 'adjoining the mainland.'

Of the other three I begin with the description of Circe's isle in κ, because it is the instance chiefly relied on. In fact it is the weakest of all. 'The island,' Professor Rebert says (377), 'is clearly represented as being hilly and mountainous.' This is actually said on the strength of the simple statement that Odysseus went up to a 'rugged point of outlook' (*σκοπιήν*), κ 148 and 194. (*δι' ἄκριας*, vs. 281, might also have been referred to.) But from neither of these can 'mountainous' be extracted. They are both consistent with a merely rough unequal surface, with one moderate eminence in it, from which the rest of the island could be seen. And observe what the object of the hero's climb was, 'if he might see the works of men and *hear the sound of their voices*' (vs. 147). Was it necessary to go to a mountain top for this information? There is absolutely no ground for believing there was a mountain, or more than a rocky height from which a good view could be had.

That it was an island no one can doubt who considers the description in vs. 195, *νῆσον τὴν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται*. Every word testifies to that, especially the last. Professor Rebert relies on the 'traditional identification' with Monte Circaeo in Italy, which is a peninsula. So what Odysseus saw was a peninsula, and *χθαμαλή* as = 'adjoining the land' is explained. But it is surely an extraordinary thing that

Odysseus should need to go up to a height to discover this, and equally extraordinary that he should need to tell his men, as he does (vs. 196), for he and they must have discovered this when they sailed up to the place a few days before. No one can approach a peninsula or an island near the coast from the sea without perceiving that it adjoins the land! And be it added that it is far from certain that Circe's isle is Monte Circaeo. So far as my observation goes, the belief among those competent to judge only becomes more pronounced, that the fairy adventures of Odysseus, as distinguished from the voyagings in Greek seas, will never be identified with known parts of the earth. Particularly is this so with Circe's home. She is a gooddess, daughter of the sun and granddaughter of Oceanus—a significant relationship—and so unearthly is her location that Odysseus has to confess (vss. 190-92) that he has completely lost his bearings.

In the second occurrence, μ 73-100, Circe is describing to Odysseus the terrors of Scylla and Charybdis as he is about to encounter them. Her statement is in two sections, the first devoted to the rock of Scylla and the second to that of Charybdis. Note how the former begins, with a description of its great height. *It reaches 'to heaven.'* Circe goes on to describe further the rock and the monster that inhabits it, and, having finished, turns to the other rock and its inhabitant; and when she begins by saying that it is χθαμαλώτερον (than the other, already described), what can the ordinary man, who knows the regularly recurring meaning of the adjective, think but that Circe means the second rock is 'lower' than the first? Professor Rebert, however, prefers to explain the word here again of the location of Charybdis adjoining the mainland, and finds confirmation in the ὑπό of vs. 104. 'The position of Charybdis with reference to cliff and fig tree is said to be ὑπό, which of *necessity* must refer to a location between the rock and the course a boat *might* take through the strait' (p. 386, italics mine). There is no such necessity, and the construction of ὑπό admits of no doubt. 'Beneath the fig tree,' as Merry and Riddell say *ad loc.* The plain meaning, which I suppose no one has ever till now questioned, is that Charybdis lurks in the rock beneath the tree, and no more is to be read into the passage.

The third instance is in the *Iliad*, where the wall round the Achaean camp is said (N 683) to have been built *χθαμαλώτατον*. Here again we are asked to believe that the word has not the meaning of 'low,' accepted for it in this passage through the ages, but again has the sense of 'adjoining the mainland.' That is to say, we are to believe that the poet, who has been for hundreds of lines describing the fighting on land, suddenly changes his point of view and describes the wall as seen from the sea, using a 'technical' description from 'nautical instructions' applicable to a promontory or island near the coast. I think we may decline to believe in any such change. The 'assumption,' as it is called, of some authorities that this was a weak point in the wall, is rejected because 'the lines at the end of Book xii show that unusual pains were taken to make this important part of the wall impregnable' (p. 384). They show that great pains were taken with the gate and towers, and naturally, if one part of the wall in the vicinity was 'lowest' or 'very low,' a condition, it may be added, which seems to be attested by the *ὑπερβαίνειν* of *M* 468 and the *ὑπερκατέβησαν* of *N* 87. I think we may still believe in what has been the universal acceptation of the description in question.

Reviewing the four instances, then, one thing is certain, that in every one of them the sense of 'low' suits perfectly. But we must reject it because some unnamed critics known to Strabo thought there was a contradiction between the two adjectives in *ι* 25. But observe that they were under a misapprehension, for there is, as Strabo himself points out, no contradiction. We now know that *ὑπερτάτη* does not, as they thought, refer to the height of the ground in the island. Had they understood that, we should probably never have heard of the new interpretation.

Some have difficulty in conceiving of Thiaki, the traditional Ithaka, as 'low,' because it has high ground in it. What they think of is a flat island, but *χθαμαλός* never meant 'flat.' But seen from a distance Thiaki must look low. The point is made by the eminent geographer Partsch, as quoted by Michael in his *Die Heimat des Odysseus*, 23. The poet is viewing Ithaka *unter dem Eindrucke einer Fernsicht*, and I reinforce this with a presentation of the matter of my own devising. Thiaki is sixteen miles long from north to south,

with a greatest breadth of four miles. The greatest heights in it, one in its northern and the other in its southern half, are 2,066 and 2,135 feet respectively; and from these two peaks the ground slopes in all directions to the sea. The length of the island is thus *forty* times its greatest height. Now let anyone draw to scale the outline from north to south as it will appear to anyone looking at the island from east or west, thus: Let a line *A B* be the length; make it ten inches. Bisect it at *C*, representing the isthmus which connects the two parts of the island. A point *only* $\frac{1}{4}$ *inch* above the middle of each half of the line will represent the two highest points on the island. Call them *P* and *Q*. Lines drawn from *P* to *A* and *C* and from *Q* to *B* and *C* will give us the outline of the island from north to south in vertical section. Contemplate that outline for a moment and say if there be any difficulty in understanding how it can be said of Thiaki (seen from Cefalonia to the west, and especially from the mainland or its vicinity to the east, in which latter case the background is the far higher Cefalonia) that it 'lies low in the sea.' You see before you a long, low island, indeed so long that it now strikes me as strange that no one[1] has identified it with the long lost Dulichium or Long Island of Homer. So far at least, but that may come!

Most discussion of χθαμαλός is vitiated by two faults that are constantly repeated in Ithakan controversy. One is the unconscionable forcing of Greek words to new meanings; πορθμός (not strait, but *Wasserweg* or even trade-route), πολυβενθής (not very deep, but *tief sich ins Land erstreckende*), ἑκὰς νήσων (not merely far from the islands, but *zwischen den Inseln durch, aber fern von ihnen*), and μεσσηγύς (not merely between, but exactly midway), are instances. The ordinary meanings, as they commend themselves to modern scholars and commended themselves to the men of old, do not favour the theories of enquirers, and so must be discarded, or twisted and strained until some semblance of support is extracted for the novelties. The other is the new notion, rapidly becoming popular, that anything in the *Odyssey* relating to navigation or geography may be assumed to be taken from 'sailing directions,' or 'nautical instructions,' or a *periplus*, or some sort of ancient Baedeker. As we know

[1] I think this identification was proposed by Draheim.

nothing whatever about any such compilation, such an origin is a mere possibility. It is of course at least equally possible and much more probable that the poet is writing from personal knowledge, more or less intimate, or from information that was brought by mariners and that spread from mouth to mouth and became common property in Greece. Professor Rebert thinks that Circe's statement to Odysseus must have had an origin of the former kind. It may be that she is, goddess though she be, quoting such 'nautical instructions'; but it is in that case difficult to determine where they end and where the mythical, in the shape of the descriptions of the persons of Scylla and Charybdis and of their horrible ways, begins. The whole just reads like a bit of a story about a pair of prehistoric bogies located in a very high rock and a lower one.

NERIKOS

CQ XXIV (1930)

THE whereabouts of this ancient town is of interest in the Leukas-Ithaka controversy, but unfortunately there is little information on which to fix it. The data may be said to be one passage in the *Odyssey* and one in Thucydides. In the former, ω 377-8, Laertes is wishing he were young again,

> *οἷος Νήρικον εἷλον, ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,*
> *ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο, Κεφαλλήνεσσιν ἀνάσσων.*

The latter, Thuc. iii 7, 5, describes an operation of the Athenian general, Asopios, who is referred to as *πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα καὶ ἀπόβασιν ἐς Νήρικον ποιησάμενος*. Some hold on these passages that Nerikos was in S. Maura (Leukas). The Leukadists, on the other hand, say they show that it was somewhere in the adjacent territory of Acarnania. That is necessary to the Leukas-Ithaka case, for no one doubts that the words of Laertes imply that Nerikos was not in the Homeric Ithaka, that is, to the Leukadists, S. Maura. But all are agreed that the Nerikos of ω and the Nerikos of

Thucydides are in the same locality, and that a limited one, and, that being so, a presumption arises that they are one and the same place, until good cause is shown to the contrary.

Dörpfeld shows cause in *Alt-Ithaka*, 133 sqq., in a section the heading of which affirms that the Homeric *Burg* of Nerikos was on the site of the later city of Palairos, now Kechropoula, in the tract of land known as Plagia, which adjoins S. Maura on the east, and is separated from it only by a narrow strait. Kechropoula is some eight miles distant from the strait. Plagia itself Dörpfeld describes as, *par excellence*, an *Akte des Festlandes*. See also his *Leukas* and his reply to Bürchner in *Philologus* lxxxii 113 sq. The argument is as follows:

There is abundant grazing ground in Plagia, and Odysseus may well have kept there the great flocks and herds which Eumaeus describes in ξ 96 sqq. as feeding on the mainland, ἐν ἠπείρῳ. Beasts could easily be brought over by Philoitios, the herdsman, to S. Maura by ferry (inferred from πορθμῆες in υ 187), and as Philoitios tells us, υ 210, that Odysseus had placed him Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δήμῳ, the δῆμος is evidently Plagia. And here must have been situated the Nerikos which Laertes captured, and, Dörpfeld says, 'added to his possessions.' As regards the position of the town, we can hardly, it is said, be in doubt, for there are to-day the ruins of a fortified town at Kechropoula. As Mycenaean sherds have been found there, Dörpfeld 'entertains no misgiving' as to the identification. So that the demonstration in rebuttal of the initial presumption stated above is little more than a series of conjectures which are no safe ground for a conclusion. Dörpfeld's discussion is far from exhausting the subject.

The first point for consideration is the expression in ω 378, ἀκτὴ ἠπείροιο. The etymology of ἀκτή is not quite certain. Prellwitz and Boisacq refer it to the root ἀκ-, 'sharp,' in preference to *Fάγνυμι*, as the word shows no trace of *F* in Homer. It occurs frequently in the poems, and its uses are well summarized in Cunliffe's Homeric Lexicon as 'a beach or shore of the sea,' and 'a projecting part of the shore.' In no occurrence is it applied, as Dörpfeld would have ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο applied, to an area of great extent spreading inland.

Indeed, it may be doubted whether the men of old, without the maps from which *we* can see at a glance that it comes within our definition of a peninsula, and knowing it only from a personal visit or from hearsay, would think of the Plagia tract as other than simply mainland. But, be that as it may, the Homeric word ἀκτή cannot be used of it, for it always means a bit of shore or a spot on it jutting into the sea. Moreover, the wording of the passage, *Νήρικον εἶλον, ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον, ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο,* is against Dörpfeld's interpretation. Such an apposition as 'the city of Nerikos, the Plagia peninsula,' is out of the question; a πτολίεθρον cannot be a considerable stretch of country. Mr. Agar, *Homerica*, 427, styles the combination 'meaningless,' and proposes accordingly to amend ἀκτήν to ἄντην. We should then have Nerikos 'over against the mainland,' that is, in S. Maura, on the west side of the narrow strait between it and the mainland. But though it is true that ἀκτή may be the source of trouble in *O* 621, where editors give, besides ἀκτῇ, αὐτήν, ἄντην and αὐτῇ, there is no *varia lectio* in our line, ω 378. If we are to keep to the text, we must say that ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο, interpreted by Homeric usage, means a spot on the Acarnanian shore opposite Leukas, and we shall see that such a spot, called Hagios Georgios, is selected for the classical Nerikos by Dörpfeld.

Next, as to the *Κεφαλλήνων δῆμος* of ν 210. Philoitios tells how Odysseus had settled him, while still quite young, with the king's herds, *Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δήμῳ*. What and where was this δῆμος? We have only some indications. Some regard these as insufficient for a decision. Others think the δῆμος meant is Cefalonia or its coast opposite Thiaki. They rely on the word πορθμῆες, used in ν 187 of the seamen who brought to Ithaka Philoitios and the animals for the Wooers' table,

> πορθμῆες δ' ἄρα τούς γε διήγαγον, οἵ τε καὶ ἄλλους
> ἀνθρώπους πέμπουσιν, ὅ τις σφέας εἰσαφίκηται.

The πορθμός implied is to them the strait between Cefalonia and Thiaki, and πορθμῆες they take to mean 'ferrymen.' Dörpfeld in *Leukas*, 11 sq., even speaks of a *regelmässige Fähre*—meaning, of course, a ferry between Plagia and S. Maura (his Ithaka)—but that is certainly to extract

more from the word than is justified. As Seymour says, *Life* 318 *n.*, the meaning of πορθμῆες is not to be pressed. The word is used in a general way, like the ἁλιῆες of ω 419. 'In the island dominions there were no doubt regular services of small vessels transporting men and animals across the narrow seas' (Rodd, *Homer's Ithaka*, 97). See also Cauer, *Grundfragen*[3], 214*n.*

A third view is Monro's, on ν 210, that the δῆμος was on the mainland of Acarnania. Eumaeus, ξ 97 and 100, describes the locality as ἤπειρος, but that is not conclusive; the coast of Cefalonia might be so called. Still it is evidence, and it is the word used in the *Catalogue* of a part of the dominion of Odysseus which is usually taken to be Acarnania. But it may be suggested that there are two other expressions which strongly favour the mainland view. One is ξεῖνοι καὶ βώτορες ἄνδρες, ξ 102, of the herdsmen assisting Philoitios. This surely means 'strangers as well as the herdsmen' Philoitios had brought with him, and ξεῖνοι is more appropriate of natives of Acarnania than of those of Cefalonia. The other is in the statement of Philoitios, ν 217 sqq., that he had at times had thoughts of decamping, 'cattle and all,' ἄνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδαπούς. That, as has been observed, would be a scheme that could hardly be successful in Cefalonia, while it would be comparatively simple in Acarnania.

There is then some ground for believing that the Κεφαλλήνων δῆμος was on the mainland, but Dörpfeld's identification of it with Plagia cannot be accepted. It is an assumption that the result of the operation referred to by Laertes in ω 377 sq. was to add Plagia to his possessions. It is not stated that Laertes retained possession of Nerikos; as has been said, as by Lilienstern, *Ueber das homerische Ithaka*, 27, the exploit might have been a simple *Kriegsthat*, without further consequences. It might even have been done on behalf of an ally, with whom Laertes was co-operating. This possibility will be noticed further on. Still worse is it with the assertion that it was by this act that Laertes made Kephallenes his subjects, for the passage tells that he was already Κεφαλλήνεσσιν ἀνάσσων, an expression, by the way, from which one might argue with some reason that the Nerikos which Laertes took was outside the Kephallenian domain.

Dörpfeld, like every other enquirer, ancient and modern,

is hard put to it to find the Homeric Dulichium. It is, he sees, one of the four principal islands, and judging from the number of the Wooers, one of the largest. He needs S. Maura for his Ithaka, and the only other island that will suit is Cefalonia. He has then to account for its having had later the name Kephallenia, as also for the presence on its eastern coast of a town, Samé. He must bring Kephallenes there in post-Homeric times to give it its new name. He brings them from Plagia, which is to him the *Κεφαλλήνων δῆμος* of the *Odyssey*, but we shall see that a better meaning can be given to the phrase, and a better location for the *δῆμος*. To account for a Samé in Cefalonia, he brings emigrants from Thiaki (his Samé) to found the town. How all this happened he tells us in *Leukas*, 32, 'cannot be in doubt. Like so many other Greek races,' Kephallenes on the mainland were 'obviously (*offenbar*) expelled' from their (Plagian) seat 'by the Dorians' and driven to the islands. But it has always been a prime objection to Leukas-Ithaka that nothing can be urged in support of the presence of Dorians on the Acarnanian coast. And not only is the movement of Kephallenes assumed, it has also to be conjectured that the people of S. Maura (then Ithaka) were driven out, and possessed themselves of Thiaki-Samé, the inhabitants of which 'must have' (*Leukas*, 18) appropriated the eastern part of Cefalonia. The weakness of all this has often been exposed. I refer only to Mr. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 97 sq., on the extraordinary 'move on' that is imagined, and to *CP* xii 139 sq. It is remarkable that the peoples or tribes displaced one another just in the way that Leukas-Ithaka requires, and still more so that none of them thought of going a very little farther afield to the very attractive island of Zante, but confined their invasions to the islands that Leukas-Ithaka is concerned with. In his reply to Bürchner, already referred to, Dörpfeld describes this Dorian idea as an *annehmbare Vermutung*, but mere acceptability to the originator of a notion does not carry the notion far.

There has been reference above to the last book of the *Odyssey*, *ω*. It is to Dörpfeld a 'late' book, and he states, for his own purposes, the proposition that only in late books, such as *ω* and the *Catalogue*, are the Kephallenes the general

body of the subjects of Odysseus. What Dörpfeld calls the *alte Epos* knows Kephallenes only on the mainland (*Leukas*, 12 and 32). His authority is Wilamowitz (*HU*, 73). The facts are these. Κεφαλλῆνες are mentioned only six times in the poems, twice in the *Iliad*—in the *Catalogue* and Δ 330—and four times in the *Odyssey*. Three of these latter are in ω, and the other is the mention by Philoitios, ν 210, of the Κεφαλλήνων δῆμος which has been discussed above. Neither Dörpfeld nor Wilamowitz mentions Δ 330, where certainly there is no reason to believe the Kephallenes are Kephallenes of the mainland only. And as to ν 210, so far is Wilamowitz from regarding it as *alte Epos* that he assigns it to a *Bearbeiter*, who has taken his information—which Wilamowitz wrongly describes; Philoitios does not say his 'home' was in the δῆμος—from the books φ and χ, as Wilamowitz can readily perceive. One need not pay attention to that, but at any rate ν 210 is not, according to the authority Dörpfeld relies on, *alte Epos*. And what of Δ 330? Is that also 'late'? The whole notion is unfounded. But it may be added that it is quite arbitrary to assert of the three occurrences in ω that they all mean the whole body of Kephallenes subject to Odysseus. As Miss Stawell writes, discussing the point in *H and I*, 185, 'it is perfectly possible that the limited sense of Kephallenes is the right one in all three passages, and in the first (ω 355) practically certain.' There is nothing to be said for Dörpfeld's proposition except that he seems to need it for his general argument.

This attempt, then, to make a point through the lateness of ω is a failure. But you may, as you need it, use the information the tainted book supplies as to Nerikos. You may also, as has been observed above, overlook entirely the very pertinent statement that Laertes was, when he took Nerikos, already Κεφαλλήνεσσιν ἀνάσσων.

The final question is as to the position of Nerikos, or of the two towns of that name. To repeat what has already been said that is relevant to it, Dörpfeld assumes for the Homeric Nerikos that it was in the Κεφαλλήνων δῆμος, and that this δῆμος is Plagia. Again he assumes that the remains of a *Burg* that have been found in Plagia, far inland, must mark the site of the Homeric Nerikos, an assumption all the more unacceptable that his chief and very earnest supporter,

Goessler, in his *Leukas-Ithaka*, 71, says that Plagia is full of ancient remains, *besonders Burgen*. And finally he assumes that, when the Corinthians in the seventh century founded the classical Nerikos, they transferred to it the name of this assumed Plagian Nerikos. But there is no connexion in literature or tradition between the name Nerikos and the Palairos-Kechropoula site in the Plagia. G. Lang, *Geographie der Odyssee*, 13, remarks that Dörpfeld merely 'dishes up' a *Geschichtchen* in place of proof, and styles the expedient *Platzveränderung*. It is really of a piece with the *Völkerverschiebungen* that are invented to explain certain changes in the names and populations of these islands. The Plagia Nerikos must be rejected.

As regards the classical Nerikos, the authorities are not quite at one as to its position, which is not strange, considering that we have practically only the reference in Thucydides iii 7 to guide us. Strabo, x 452, 8, mentions that the Corinthians transferred Nerikos to a site further north, and called the new foundation Leukas, but does not say where exactly Nerikos was. The Thucydidean reference is appropriated by Dörpfeld to his advantage by the assertion that the historian's practice—iii 94 and viii 13 are cited—is to call S. Maura *Λευκαδία* and the capital town *Λευκάς*, but the distinction drawn is quite erroneous. If the various passages are examined, with the help, say, of the Index in Arnold's edition, it will be found that there are several in which there is a strong probability that *Λευκάς* is used of the territory, and one, ii 30, 5, in which that is quite certain, for in it the position of Kephallenia is defined by *κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα*.

Dörpfeld's position for the classical Nerikos is at Hagios Georgios, a site on the Acarnanian (Plagian) coast opposite S. Maura, at the point where Drepano Bay narrows to the strait which runs up to the lagoon in the north. That this was the site selected by the Corinthians for their new Nerikos—new to Dörpfeld, that is—he concludes from the fact that no ancient remains have been found there, I suppose we may add, yet. The remains are not ancient, and so must be of the Corinthian town. There is not much in that, but the site is certainly accurately described as an *ἀκτὴ ἠπείροιο*.

But the general opinion follows G. Lang in his view, *op. cit.* 15, of the Thucydidean passage, that the whole context shows that the Nerikos mentioned was on Leukas. Of those who support on detailed discussion the site on Leukas I mention specially, besides G. Lang *ut supra*, and Herkenrath to be quoted presently, Bürchner in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Leukas*, col. 2253, Paulatos, *ΠΑΤΡΙΣ* 57 sqq., Manly, *Ithaka or Leukas* (University of Missouri Studies, i) 23 sqq., and more recently, Rodd, *Homer's Ithaka*, 67 sq. To these may be added the authority of the geographer Partsch, quoted by Herkenrath in his paper in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xxxvi (1911), 210 sq.

In that paper Herkenrath expressed the opinion that the position which commended itself to Partsch—that is, near the capital town of Leukas in the far north—does not suit the words of Thucydides, and that appears to be correct. Herkenrath himself prefers the Nidri plain, further south. The Corinthians would take it when they occupied S. Maura and chose their own site for a new capital, Leukas, further north, to which they would transfer Nerikos, as Strabo says they did. But the name would remain on the site, and Herkenrath thinks it possible that the very name survives in Nidri, or Nudri according to Dörpfeld, or *Νηδρί* according to Thomopoulos, *Ithaka und Homer*, 41, the name or names of the present village or township on the Vlicho inlet. This position does not harmonize with the *ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο* of *ω*, but suits Mr. Agar's *ἄντην* perfectly, and the *ἀκτῆς* or *ἀκτῇ* proposed by others. At any rate, there can be no doubt what is the general opinion as to the position of Nerikos.

Dörpfeld replied to Herkenrath in the same number of the *Mitteilungen*, but strangely enough avoided the Nerikos question. The reason given was that he was about to deal with it in his promised book, which however did not appear till sixteen years later. He confined himself to pointing out two great mistakes committed by Herkenrath. The first was his denial of the *Insel-Natur* of Leukas. That Dörpfeld considers he has made *chose jugée* by his voluminous discussions, but that is far from being so. Some agree with him, some do not, while the best opinion of all appears to be that, owing to the peculiar position of S. Maura in close

proximity to the mainland, the poet might regard it either as an island or as a part of Acarnania. But the interesting point is that, in correcting Herkenrath, Dörpfeld has himself repeated the greatest of all the mistakes made in the Leukas-Ithaka controversy, and one that is repeated over and over again in *Alt-Ithaka*, that Homer represents the dominion of Odysseus as including the four principal islands. So, also, in his reply to Bürchner, already quoted, p. 112. And since the above was written I see from the *PW* 1929, col. 1367, that even the geographer Oberhummer labours under this false impression. It is an initial error that renders much of Dörpfeld's exposition of his theory nugatory, but though it has often been exposed, it is constantly repeated.

To sum up, the presumption that the towns with the name Nerikos, the Homeric and the Thucydidean, are, *donec probetur in contrarium*, one and the same stands, for the attempt to differentiate between them by locating the Homeric town in Plagia entirely fails. But when we ask where the sole Nerikos was, opinion is divided. All find it on the strait between S. Maura and Acarnania, some on the eastern shore of the former, others on the western shore of the latter. The majority favour the S. Maura site, and claim that this is indicated by the tenor of the passage in Thucydides. On the other hand, the site on the Acarnanian shore, selected by Dörpfeld at Hagios Georgios, suits the Homeric word ἀκτὴν ἠπείριοι perfectly. Those who prefer to keep to the Homeric text will agree, but the difficulty indicated by Mr. Agar has to be borne in mind.

But, after all, it matters little on which coast Nerikos was situated, indeed not at all to those who believe that Dulichium is to be found in S. Maura, and find the statement in the *Catalogue* that Phyleus made it an Epean colony, reliable. The Hagios Georgios site in Acarnania is of course outside S. Maura, but surely it would be seized by Phyleus or by Meges after him, for it is obviously essential to the complete control of the strait. That is an important consideration, and a further suggestion will be made in this connexion presently.

Our knowledge of the populations and territories of Western Greece in those early times is derived from the

Catalogue, shown by Mr. M. S. Thompson in *LAA* iv to be an accurate Gazetteer of Mycenaean Greece, and the *Odyssey*. In the latter we have of course only information given casually, as the story the poet is telling requires, and the facts on which conclusions have to be based are naturally in sum only scanty. When we try to complete the picture as regards peoples and map, conjecture must necessarily be employed to fill up gaps. There has been no lack of such guesses, and I venture to make one or two of my own.

One wishes the poet had told us just a little more about that exploit of Laertes when he was, apparently, in vigorous manhood, for surely there was much more to tell. But one thing seems likely enough, that the expedition was on behalf of and in company with Phyleus, father of Meges, and his Epeioi, when they settled in Dulichium. That was, as the *Catalogue* shows, an outstanding event of the time in that northern region. The two families may have been in alliance; they were certainly, in one tradition, connected by marriage. There are different stories. See Eustathius on κ 204, 441, and ο 363. But one account gave Ktimene, daughter of Laertes, in marriage to Phyleus (Eustathius on *B* 625 sqq.). Laertes, lord of the realm adjoining Dulichium and the Echinades, may well have helped Phyleus, and at the same time himself acquired the footing on the ἤπειρος (Acarnania) which the *Catalogue*, *B* 635, gives the Ithakan king. These are guesses, certainly, but they are in harmony with the Homeric data, they have slight support in tradition, and above all they do not require that this and that part of the Homeric corpus be proscribed as late and untrustworthy.

There is yet another point. We have seen reason to believe that the *Κεφαλλήνων δῆμος* was on the mainland. Now there is an expression in the lament of Philoitios, υ 209 sqq., over his lost master that has not, I think, received due attention, but which I venture to think may have some significance. When in his despair he contemplated absconding with the cattle from the *Κεφαλλήνων δῆμος*, it was to some other δῆμος he would betake himself,—*ἄλλων δῆμον ἱκέσθαι ἰόντ' αὐτῇσι βόεσσι*. So there were other δῆμοι. Phyleus in Dulichium, that is S. Maura, and after him Meges, would surely have at least some *ἐπινομία* in the adjoining coast, a *δῆμος Ἐπειῶν*, and the Taphian islanders, possibly *Ἐπειοί* themselves,

might well have a δῆμος *Ταφίων* opposite their not very richly endowed islands. Bursian, in his *Geographie der Griechenland*, ii 365, says that in prehistoric times Acarnania, meaning the coastal tract, no doubt, was *beherrscht* by the Taphians, but does not quote authority. That δῆμος would be in the area south of Plagia, and there would remain for the Ithakan realm, as a δῆμος *Ἰθακησίων* or *Κεφαλλήνων*, the part still further south and on its southern side facing Elis. And this is much more than a guess; it is confirmed by several facts. First, it seems certain—I may refer to Leaf, Monro and Ameis-Hentze, all on *B* 635—that the ἀντιπέραια which the *Catalogue* gives Odysseus was the northern coast of Elis, which, relatively to the extreme south of Acarnania, is accurately described as its ἀντιπέραια. Secondly, there is the incident of Noemon, δ 630 sqq., who was pasturing his mares in Elis. And lastly, Elis is one of two countries in which it is anticipated that Odysseus may take refuge after the slaughter of the Wooers. These are good confirmatory considerations. For Plagia as the *Κεφαλλήνων* δῆμος there is, as we have seen, no evidence at all.

Assuming a marriage connexion and friendly relations between the ruling houses of Dulichium and Ithaka, such a distribution of the coast opposite the islands does not seem hard to accept. It is unfortunate we know so little about the Taphians; we have only a few scattered pieces of information in the *Odyssey*. One such is in the first book, where Athené interviews Telemachus in the guise of Mentes, son of Anchialos, and lord of the Taphians. She says, α 185 sqq., that her father, Anchialos, and Odysseus, were *ξεῖνοι πατρώϊοι* from of old, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, as Laertes can tell. The likeness of Mentes to Meges is suggestive, and there is an Anchialos mentioned by Pausanias x 27, 3, as in association with Odysseus at Troy. The Anchialos of *E* 60 is coupled with one Menesthes, and the similarity of that name to Mentes was noticed by Bekker in his *Homerische Blätter*, i 108 sq. Of course, all this is little more than enough to whet our curiosity, but it seems to point to the possibility that Meges was lord of the Taphian islands as well as of Dulichium (S. Maura) and the Echinades.

The Taphian islands, Taphos (now Meganisi), Karnos and Kastos, have not figured much in this Leukas-Ithaka

controversy, but one point about them is relevant for present purposes—that is, that they could be regarded as included among the Echinades. See the references given by Ebeling, *s.v.* Taphos, and in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Echinades. So also Eustathius on *B* 625 and *α* 105, with the addition that *ὁ γεωγράφος* concurred, though I have not discovered that Strabo says so. The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i 747, quoted in *FHG* ii 28, says expressly that Taphos is *μία τῶν Ἐχινάδων*, and that is good confirmation of the surmise stated in the end of the preceding paragraph. And be it added that there is extremely little basis for the notion that has grown up that the Taphians were a race apart and wholly devoted to piracy. That is merely to exaggerate the Homeric indications. Leaf's new and elaborate theory was criticized at length in *CR* xxx (1916), 82 sq. The Taphians were traders as well as pirates, and piracy, it is now well understood—it is unnecessary to quote references—was quite an ordinary occupation. Everybody was doing it, as opportunity offered. The Taphians were as other men of the day, and their practice of piracy is no bar to our considering them subjects of Meges. The islands are none of them of great extent, and would hardly be left to themselves by an invader capable of appropriating Dulichium. In all this I am of course following the view—and it is a view that continues to grow in favour—that Dulichium is S. Maura. I can now quote for it the high authority of Bunbury, Allen, Bury, Stürmer and Vollgraff. I may add Monro, who, on *B* 625, described Bunbury's reasons as 'strong.' It may be said that the identification clears away all difficulty about Dulichium. The gap between S. Maura and the Echinae proper was once to me personally a small difficulty, but it has been shown above that the whole chain of islands from S. Maura down to Oxia could be regarded as Echinades. If one could believe with Leaf that Taphos was not in this region at all, but was Corfu, matters would be simplified still more, but that is out of the question.

I venture to think that the condition of things sketched above is in complete harmony with the information that is contained in the *Catalogue*, and that Homer happens to give us in the *Odyssey*, and, what is more, that it presents a perfectly intelligible distribution of power. Odysseus rules

Thiaki, Cefalonia and Zante, and has an interest in the extreme south of Acarnania and in the coast of Northern Elis opposite, while Meges and his Epeioi have S. Maura and the islands south of it and down to and including the Echinae proper. It is difficult to find in the Homeric data any objection to such an arrangement of territory.

Further ethnological and geographical enquiry may throw light on the subject, but such enquiry must be purged of the poison introduced into its system by the Dörpfeldian theory. We can be grateful to its author for the thoroughgoing examination of the geography of the *Odyssey* which his Leukas-Ithaka adventure has provoked, but there is nothing more to be said for it. Its defects are glaring and obvious. One of the false premises on which it is based has been mentioned above, and two more blunders, as to the Thucydidean use of Leukas and Leukadia and the Odyssean use of Kephallenes, have been exposed. The Dorian hypothesis to explain the extraordinary *Namen-* and *Völkerverschiebungen* that have to be postulated has also been noticed, and to this catalogue of weaknesses has to be added the unheard of violence that is done to Homeric words and expressions. The theory has, it is true, secured some adherents, but it is to the lovers of Homeric novelty that it has chiefly appealed, and one of its worst effects is that it has raised up a host of imitators. To those who have not followed Ithakan controversy carefully it may not be known that, besides S. Maura, Cefalonia has been proved to be the Homeric Ithaka, and that the honour has been claimed even for Corfu—which has also been identified with Taphos—not to mention the Trapani pleasantry of Samuel Butler. Others have sought to show that S. Maura is the Homeric Samé, and that Thiaki itself is really the islet Asteris. Zante has so far been left in its isolation, but its turn will doubtless come, for there seems to be no limit to such speculation. It is a mania of which the pervading fallacy has been described by Professor Shorey, in a notice in *CP* xxiv 426, of a recent work in support of Butler's views, as 'lying in the assumption that a happy thought for which plausible things can be said is a demonstrated truth.'

SECTION II

'HOMER AND HISTORY'

THE object of the essays in this section was to question the accuracy of the many new and, certainly at first sight, surprising conclusions reached by the late Dr. Leaf in the geographical chapters of his above work, published in 1915. The aim of these chapters was to discredit the *Catalogue of the Ships* in the *Iliad* and its author, who was referred to as the 'Cataloguer.'

It will be seen from p. 153 *post* that this was Dr. Leaf's third view of the *Catalogue*. In his earlier works he had regarded it as very ancient and 'a real gazetteer of Achaean Greece.' Later he held that it was composed for the *Cypria* and as an introduction to the Epic Cycle. In *H and H* it is the work of some graceless writer—one might almost say rogue or jester—of the age of the Logographers.

The book had a most favourable reception, as will be seen from the following very warm, even glowing tributes by three well-known Homeric scholars.

A review by Professor Bolling will be found in vol. xxii of the *American Historical Review*. Among Dr. Leaf's conclusions which are there regarded as 'of special value' are his presentation of Dörpfeld's Leukas-Ithaka theory in 'a way that ought to carry conviction,' and the identification of Taphos and Corfu. Taphos was Taphos to all antiquity, and there is little more to be said for equating Taphos with Corfu—on which see pp. 110 ff. *post*—than for a recent German demonstration that Corfu is neither Taphos nor Scheria, but just the Ithaka of Homer, or for an American one that Scheria is neither Corfu nor Taphos, but Cyprus!

Again, Professor Bury, in the *QR* 448, 14, says that Dr. Leaf has submitted the *Catalogue* to 'a merciless analysis, and it may safely be said that the combined forces of the unitarians will never rehabilitate the *Catalogue* as a document of significance for the Mycenaean age.' But we find him a

few years later on further reflection—in *CAH* ii 474 (1924) —giving utterance to a quite different view. 'For this time' —at the beginning of the twelfth century—'we have in Homer's *Catalogue* a picture of the political geography of Greece' which 'is entirely different from anything we find at any later epoch.' And there was a similar change on the Professor's part in regard to Leukas-Ithaka. In the paper in the *QR* already quoted we find, p. 15, 'Dr. Leaf has shown with admirably lucidity how overwhelming are the arguments in favour of Dr. Dörpfeld's identification of Homeric Ithaca with Leucas (Santa Maura).' Strong language this, but by 1922 Professor Bury had come to the very opposite conclusion. In that year, in a paper, 'The end of the Odyssey,' in *JHS* xlii, we find him saying, 'I accept unreservedly Mr. Allen's convincing defence of Bunbury's equation Dulichium-Leucas.' A splendid illustration of the danger of confident assertion without proper examination of a subject, but simply yielding to a persuasive style and bold asseveration.

Next, Professor Murray to the rescue. In sweeping style likely to impress those not familiar with the literature of the *Catalogue*, he begins with a declaration—*RGE*[3] 202—that 'by general agreement the *Catalogue* is an alien document, written by some non-Homeric author or authors for a non-Homeric context, and afterwards, with omissions and additions, incorporated in the Iliad.' That statement might be questioned as much too wide, but he goes on to intimate (p. 203) his concurrence in Dr. Leaf's polemic in the most positive language possible. Dr. Leaf has in the Professor's judgment succeeded 'beyond the possibility of refutation.' He must then approve the Thessalian views of Dr. Leaf against Messrs. Wace and Thompson. See p. 174 *post.* He must also hold that Dr. Leaf's adherence to Dörpfeld's Leukas-Ithaka is justified. He is surely not prepared to go that length? In regard to the third count in Dr. Leaf's great indictment of the *Catalogue*, that is, in regard to the territories of Agamemnon and Diomede, it is simply crammed with novelties, not one of which, I submit, bears examination. His strange views about Mycenaean Corinth, for example, are of the first importance to him in regard to those territories, but who will accept them against Dr.

Blegen,[1] an acknowledged authority on the Corinthia of prehistory? Who will concur in his novel views on fortresses, early Greek trade, etc., noticed in pp. 138 ff. *post*? Professor Murray, however, describes the conclusions based on these speculations as being beyond the possibility of refutation. There is every reason for preferring the results obtained by archaeology. Andrew Lang had good ground for saying that 'the archaeologists, almost universally, are backers, against the grammarians, of the prehistorical antiquity of the *Catalogue*.' See, for example, Mr. Wace in the *CGS*[3], 27, or the respectful treatment accorded to the *Catalogue* by Professor Myres in 'Who were the Greeks?' The references are collected in the Index to the book. Or finally, refer to that weighty paper by Mr. Thompson in *LAA* referred to p. 173 *post*, showing the correspondence between Mycenaean sites and the entries in the *Catalogue*. It must be borne in mind in estimating the worth of their views that neither Dr. Leaf nor Professor Murray mentions that paper, the omission of which is a fatal defect in any discussion of the genuineness of the *Catalogue*.

One other point may be referred to here, the alleged connection of the Catalogue with the *Cypria*. Dr. Leaf in *H and H* no longer believes in that, but Professor Murray continues to insist on it. See *RGE*[3] pp. 179f., and thereon p. 169 *post*. There is no evidence, but 'we may fairly suppose' that there was a Greek Catalogue in the *Cypria*, and that it was the one we now have in the *Iliad*. One need not waste words on the supposition.

And on the whole it may be said that Professor Murray's very brave words of welcome help Dr. Leaf's case not at all. His capacity for the deglutition of revolutionary views regarding Homer is great.[2]

[1] Dr. Blegen's disposal of the matter had not appeared when *RGE*[3] was published. See p. 35 (and note) of that work.

[2] For other instances of too ready acceptance on his part of vicious work, see p 297 and p. 327 *post*.

REVIEW OF 'HOMER AND HISTORY'

CR XXX (1916)

DR. LEAF has proved in his *Troy* that the Trojan War is a historical fact. As the effect of this is to confirm the tradition in its most vital point, he feels justified in using it as a guide in further tests of the historical value of the Homeric record. To the process of ascertaining how much of the accumulations with which this good solid foundation is now overlaid is spurious accretion, or, perhaps more accurately, to the initial stage of it, the present volume is devoted.

After making his position clear on certain preliminary points, Dr. Leaf provides, in a chapter on the Coming of the Achaeans, an interesting and vivid sketch of their appropriation of Greece as he conceives it to have taken place, and then turns to the prosecution of his task. This brings him at once to consideration of the two Catalogues in the second *Iliad*, as documents which are at least ostensibly historical. The Trojan Catalogue he has already accepted as part of, or founded on, the genuine tradition. In regard to the Greek, he comes to a very different conclusion. He resuscitates the view of Niese and others that it does not suit the *Iliad*, and could not have been composed for it, shows that it differs essentially from the rest of the poem and from the *Odyssey*, and exhibits the divergence at length in regard to the Boeotians (who, as others have remarked, do little in the War worthy of the *tantus hiatus* of their introduction), and to the dominions of Peleus, Odysseus and Agamemnon. The Cataloguer, as he is called, is found to have departed from the court tradition. He has cut about and rearranged these areas, with the objects of legitimating the old tribal system, of giving to later Greece the share in the *Troica* which belonged to the Achaeans alone, and of consolidating the elements of his day into a single nation. He succeeded only in producing a fictitious state of Greece which never existed. His Catalogue must be a late development, which originated in a later world of new ideas. It has been 'faked' into the *Iliad* from a poem, presumably the work of the Cataloguer, describing a review at Aulis.

The volume ends with chapters on the Fusion of Races and the Achaean Epos. An Appendix is chiefly concerned with lively reprobation of a recent exposition of the *Catalogue*, and of some anti-Dörpfeldian views on Leukas-Ithaka.

The assault on the *Catalogue* is the most formidable that that much assaulted document has yet had to meet, and it is too comprehensive for full notice here. The Homeric geographer will doubtless have much to say in reply. On the literary side, a good deal of the matter in the indictment is familiar, and the answer will be as before. Niese himself lived to see and confess that a number of his conclusions could not stand. They were, of course, largely due to the *Zeitgeist*. There is much authority for the opinion that the *Catalogue* was not Boeotian in origin and never a work by itself. And forty years of fruitful archaeological enquiry have only served to strengthen the view, urged by Dr. Monro in a paper that is classic, that its contents are genuine ancientry. It was Messrs. Wace and Thompson, fresh from their explorations, who said that Niese's views on the Thessalian section implied that the Cataloguer was a fool,[1] and the difficulty will be to reconcile Dr. Leaf's conclusions regarding him with archaeological discoveries. These prove that the Cataloguer has given an accurate account of prehistoric Thessaly, and Mr. Thompson has shown, in a striking paper which Dr. Leaf does not appear to notice, that his enumeration corresponds very closely with the limits of Mycenaean Greece. This is surely strange if his floruit was as late as now suggested. Dr. Leaf does not expressly repeat his old belief that the Cataloguer composed for the Cycle, but he seems to go further and to make him contemporary with the Logographers, and we cannot suppose he would have any more knowledge of prehistoric Greece than his contemporaries and successors had. ἁπλοϊκοὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. He would describe the Greece he knew, and that he did know it intimately his *Catalogue* abundantly shows. But instead, ἐκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα. With fine audacity, almost, as Gemoll once said of him, with malevolence, he produced a mere fiction, and one which, in spite of its novelty and its disregard of the tradition, rose, and rose at once, to

[1] *Preh. Thess.* 254 n., which seems to be the reference Dr. Leaf had lost. He himself writes the Cataloguer down 'criminal' as well as fool.

canonical authority, after securing incorporation in the great national poem of Greece. Add to this that the individual who 'faked' into the *Iliad* this fiction which fits the Mycenaean world so well did his work badly, as late intruders were wont to do, and the new theory becomes hard to accept. It will get no support from the language of the *Catalogue*.

And two general remarks on the proof may be added. It is surely unsafe, to say the least of it, when basing inferences on physical conditions, to assume that these were in Mycenaean days just what they are now or were in classical times. Can we be sure that the condition of the sea-bed off the coast of the Plain of Argos was 3,000 years ago as unfavourable to navigation as it is now? Or again, can we argue from absence of water-supply, or from the stony nature of districts in these days? One must surely think of the Greece of the Achaeans as almost a virgin area, with more forest and with springs and running water more abundant most of the year than in later times. Denudation of slopes and the ruin which is the certain result would be only incipient. The probable ancient condition of the country and its present plight may be seen in tracts adjoining each other in some parts of the modern world. And secondly, surely too much is always made of enclaves. These are common enough. In British India there are localities where there is an absolute jumble of jurisdictions, and the commixture is a legacy from just such a period of commotion as was that of the Achaean settlement.

For the rest, *nihil est simul inventum et perfectum*, and the argument often leaves the impression that conclusions are drawn too hastily. The discussion which issues in the elimination of Homeric Corinth requires us to concede a good deal. Here, as elsewhere, Dr. Leaf ventures on a prediction to help us to believe—τά κεν θεὸς ἢ τελέσειεν, ἢ κ' ἀτέλεστ' εἴη.[1] All will not agree that the inference from the terms of the references in the *Catalogue* to Philoctetes and Protesilaus is incontestably self-evident. It may be that Thucydides was wriggling out of a difficulty about the Boeotians, but the difficulty was caused by his own rash

[1]The prediction is that Mycenaean remains will never be discovered at Corinth. I now note that the *CJ* for January reports that 'a Mycenaean site of much promise' has been found.

chronological venture. The inference from another phrase, *τύχησε γὰρ ἐρχομένη νηῦς*, is just the reverse of the interpretation which some would give it. In other places relevant matter is overlooked, as α 194, which is an obstacle to reasoning about the track of Mentes, who may obviously have gone out of his way, and ξ 339, in the account of a voyage from Thesprotia. And so on. There is a good deal of somewhat hazardous speeding over thin ice. Two other matters deserve fuller mention.

The first is the familiar Leukas-Ithaka controversy. It is part of Dr. Leaf's case that S. Maura is Homer's Ithaka, but that can never be proved now. All the evidence has been produced, and fails to convince. His survey of the 'larger considerations' is little more than an enumeration of the old difficulties in regard to Thiaki. But a plaintiff in ejectment cannot rely on the weakness of the opposing title. *Beati possidentes*, and he must show a better one himself. That the Leukadists cannot do. They rely greatly on Arkoudi with its twin havens; but Arkoudi is really the rock on which the hypothesis breaks. Professor Manly, who inspected the havens after hearing Dörpfeld expound his case, would have none of them. Did it ever occur to anyone before Dörpfeld to think or speak of Arkoudi as 'in a strait' between Thiaki and S. Maura? Would it occur to any stranger to the controversy now? And then the fantastic tricks the Leukadists have played. Dörpfeld, said Wilamowitz, *ignoriert eben alle Grammatik, alle Kritik, alle Geschichte*. Witness the juggling with *πορθμός* and *πολυβενθής*, or that impossible voyage outside Cefalonia, or the Dorian thrust, of which there is admittedly no evidence, which drove the people of Leukas only a few miles away, but which must be assumed in order to complete the theory. Nor does Dr. Leaf help the cause by his quite new translation of *ἑκὰς νήσων* in Athené's advice to Telemachus, viz. 'clear of islands.' It would be strange advice to a voyager at any time —(never mind shoals or currents or headlands, but do) keep clear of islands; to a man about to sail to Vlicho in S. Maura, past one archipelago and through another, it would be very puzzling. As a piece of positive evidence, a point is made of the impossibility of ferrying cattle from Thiaki to the mainland. But Engel tells us that 4,500 head are still

taken over every year *in regelmässigem Fährenbetrieb*. Dörpfeld's notion is weak support for further hypotheses.

The other matter is Dr. Leaf's own discovery, that by Taphos the poet means, not Meganisi or Kalamo or Dragonera, as others have thought, but Corfu. It is a very attractive theory, persuasively stated, but there is much to question. We are to suppose that with the west, 'towards the gloom,' though there was Mycenaean *influence* there, there was no *trade*. As trade did not follow the flag in this case, it must have been prevented. By whom? Obviously by some power in Corfu, past which, it is hastily assumed, all trade must have gone. Now the Taphians of Homer are to Dr. Leaf a great maritime people, capable of just such a domination over Achaean movements, so they must be placed in Corfu. But the poet and archaeologists alike show that there was intercourse with the west.[1] And Agamemnon, who to Dr. Leaf is 'no mere *primus inter pares*' but 'supreme monarch of Greece,' would never have tolerated this exclusion from Italy and Sicily, while the excluders themselves roamed at will through the great emperor's waters and along his coasts and far beyond. And if the Achaeans had been barred via Corfu, they would surely have gone direct. Such a voyage would be a short one compared with one of five days across the open sea from Crete to the Nile. Further, the indications in the epic are exaggerated. These do not raise the Taphians' operations to the level of what has been called 'international piracy.' They were simple freebooters, like all their neighbours, including Odysseus himself. Then the narrative of Athené-Mentes' visit to Telemachus is made to support the new theory, but it is quite in harmony with the old view. The Ephyre mentioned was probably not the Thesprotian, but the Elean; Merry and Riddell state the relevant considerations. That Temese was Tamassos in Cyprus is against the evidence. The names cannot be regarded offhand as identical, by any means. Again, Tamassos is in the very middle of Cyprus, and a Taphian could no more speak of 'sailing over the sea to Tamassos for copper' than a captain of Riga of sailing to Leeds for woollens. It is

[1]With Tempsa, for instance, as argued below, and see υ 383. It seems quite an ordinary thing to kidnap a man and sell him across the seas to the Sikels 'for a good price.'

very doubtful if ἐπ' ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους would have been used in those days of Cyprus; it certainly could of Temesa (or Tempsa) in Italy. Authorities tell of Mycenaean colonization in Cyprus, and ρ 443 is, as Sir Arthur Evans has observed, a significant line. And Strabo, who no doubt relied on Posidonius, who knew W. Europe, decides for Tempsa. There were copper workings there, and Mosso quotes a modern geologist in confirmation. Much interest attaches, Dr. Leaf thinks, to the cargo of iron in the story, but his inferences seem to be too liberal. There was doubtless a centre of distribution up the Adriatic, but Dörpfeld is said to have discovered iron in Acarnania. The epithet αἴθων is against unwrought metal, the quantity would certainly be small, for a little would go a long way in the purchase of copper, and it might, as has been observed, have been acquired by piracy. Then there is the ancient belief that Corfu was the Scheria of the *Odyssey*. Bérard's demonstration of their identity, which Dr. Leaf dismisses with few words, is overwhelmingly strong, and has not been invalidated by Champault's extravaganza. Dr. Leaf further suggests that Scheria is a fairy-land, and that Homer is describing the lost island, Atlantis, 'built to music,' like Camelot, on memories of Minoan Crete. But the discrepancies between Homer's picture and the archaeologists' reconstruction are serious, and what is the fairyism of Phaeacia compared with its humanness? Thucydides tells us the Corcyraeans believed themselves descended from the Phaeacians, there is never a word in literature about this former Taphian thalassocracy, and the name adhered to the islands between Leukas and Acarnania.

But, whatever one's opinion may be on individual points in the book, there is no question that it is a great contribution to the study of Homer, and one for which Homerists of all shades of creed will be very grateful. Dr. Leaf is clear, bold and independent in investigation, selects for discusion the things that matter, and writes with delightful freshness. The method is unimpeachable; 'Homer from Homer,' supplemented by archaeological results and the facts of geography, with no room for the myriad imaginings too often indulged in. And one is glad to infer from a number of indications that there is more to follow, the ultimate object

being the presentation of a formula of reconciliation for extreme views on the Homeric Question. Dr. Leaf's own prepossessions as to the composition of the poems are left aside for the present. *Resurgent*, and his readers will be curious to know how far his recent researches have modified or confirmed them. The old Adam is certainly not dead. Meantime, while he has given the defenders of unity much to ponder furiously, his view of the value of the poems as history and of their geographical accuracy will be no small comfort to them. And they will not be sorry to see that several 'old shrovetide cocks' get shrewd knocks. *Sagenverschiebungen* and the Faded God surely receive their quietus. Prof. Murray is shown how the Epos may be regarded as expurgated without having undergone an expurgative process. The merit of the anthropologico-mythological school is duly acknowledged and utilized. There is 'a soul of truth in things erroneous.' Prof. Ridgeway and the opponents of his theory of the Origin of Tragedy are told they may live in peace together. And finally, it is a great pleasure to see the debt which Homer owes to Mr. Chadwick's *Heroic Age* fully recognized.

The maps are a valuable addition to the work, but the small one of Corfu and the mouth of the Adriatic on p. 186 is spoiled by the quadruple coast line. It would have been a boon to students if the map of Homeric Greece (after Leaf and Dörpfeld) had been made complete.

THE DOMINION OF PELEUS

CR XXX (1916)

Dr. Leaf's view, in *H and H*, of a difference between 'Homer' and the 'Cataloguer' in regard to Peleus' realm depends very largely on the ownership of Iolcus. The Cataloguer gives the town to Eumelus. Dr. Leaf thinks (p. 115 f.) that it is 'clear enough' that, according to 'Homer,' Iolcus belonged to Peleus. This is 'recorded ineffaceably in the name of Mount Pelion,' below the peak of which Iolcus lay, and in the stories connecting the mountain with Peleus'

family. Then there is the Pelian spear, which Cheiron gave Peleus, 'of course in token of vassalage.' And lastly, 'the Achilles who was educated on Pelion of course had his home at its foot, and not far away at the head of the Malian Gulf.'

As regards the names Peleus and Pelion, the connection is assumed, but it has never been proved. The terminations of the words are against the derivation of the one from the other. But even connection is disputed. In Roscher, *s.v.* Peleus, the discussion is poor. Eustathius' view that Peleus is the *Heros Eponymos* is adopted, and reference is made to H. D. Müller (1857) and Mannhardt, the latter of whom seems to be doubtful. Fick (*Ortsnamen*, 77, and *Personennamen*, 431) is against the notion. '*Πᾱλιον, das natürlich mit Πηλεύς nichts zu tun hat, wird 'Lehmberg' sein, zu πηλός* (*ᾱ*).' *Πηλεύς* he takes to be for a full form with *πηλε-* for *τηλε-*, comparing *Τηλέμαχος*. Gruppe (*Griech. Mythol.* 618 n.) quotes a name *Πηλεκλέας*, though (1141 n.) he prefers, as others do, the derivation from *πάλλω*. Others, again, have referred *Πηλεύς* to *πηλός*, in confirmation of the aqueous origin of Achilles. All seems uncertain. The origin and connections of the two names have still to be settled, and no argument can be based on their identity. Compare the note on p. 288 of Mr. Chadwick's *Heroic Age*.

The Pelian spear helps as little. What ground is there for saying that *of course* it was given in vassalage? Has the gift of a spear ever had this significance? When the late Dr. Verrall startled the Homeric world a few years ago by propounding a 'Mutiny of Idomeneus'—a hero who was supposed to have broken a spear by way of renouncing his fealty—careful enquiry failed to elicit that a spear had ever been put to such a use. Andrew Lang, who was greatly interested in the Mutiny, found the idea entirely new. Moreover, in the literature of the Peleus-Pelion connection, which may all be found referred to in the relevant articles in Roscher and Pauly-Wissowa, in Meyer's *Achilleis* and in *Hermes*, xxx 73 ff., there is never a hint that the spear was more than a wedding present on the occasion of the bridal of Peleus and Thetis. Poseidon at the same time gave the immortal horses, other gods a suit of mail, *καὶ λοιποὶ ἕτερα*. Homer simply mentions the gift, but his language

(*μελίην* and *Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς*) hardly implies more than that the Centaur supplied a good ashen shaft, which, according to some accounts, Athené and Hephaestus converted into a spear. It would be quite in the Homeric way to use a phrase—*χαριζόμενος βασιλῆϊ*, or the like—to indicate that the spear was a feudal gift, but what the poet says on the subject is very different—*φόνον ἔμμεναι ἡρώεσσιν*. Mr. Paton thinks it was one of three enchanted gifts which made Achilles such a valuable ally (*CR* xxvi 1 ff.), and that consists with the view that the Myrmidon was simply a great warrior, and could not compete as a sovereign with Agamemnon and others. With no suggestion in the tradition, and no instances produced *aliunde*, it is surely not justifiable to assume as a matter of course a symbolical presentation to a feudal superior.

On the third point, it is again remarkable that in the literature above referred to Iolcus is regarded as distinct from Phthia. The persons concerned go from Phthia to Iolcus, and from Iolcus back to Phthia. And surely one is not justified in saying that, because Achilles was brought up on Pelion, he *of course* had his home at its foot. No one knows in what town Peleus and Achilles dwelt, unless (as some have thought, not without reason, from the terms of *B* 682 f.), Phthia was a town. But Peleus might well have sent his son a distance of fifty miles or so from the Spercheus valley to be under the care of his grandfather, the 'most righteous of the Centaurs.' Other fathers did so, for legend gave Cheiron many hero-pupils. But after all Homer does not say Achilles was educated by Cheiron on Pelion. That would be an extreme inference from *Λ* 830 ff. And there is Phoenix, as the scholiasts remarked, to be reckoned with as rival educator.

Dr. Leaf has yet another argument about the extent of the realm of Peleus. On p. 112 he says we cannot doubt that the Phthia of Homer was the later Phthiotis. It would thus extend 'to the very head of the Pagasaean Gulf,' and include Iolcus. But that again is a very large assumption, and quite opposed to his own former view in *Troy*, 347. There he did not discuss the 'difficult question' of Phthia, but he did say 'in any case it cannot have been identical with the Phthiotis of later history.' That is quite enough to

give us pause in regard to the present statement. What Homer meant by Phthia has still to be ascertained.

Finally, it is asserted on the following grounds that Pherae, a little to the west of Iolcus, is given to Peleus by Homer. First, the chief who held Iolcus must hold Pherae also. But it has been seen above that there is no reason to believe that Peleus owned Iolcus. Secondly, there is the interpretation, popular in antiquity, of Hector's parting words to Andromaché (*Z* 456 f.), *καί κεν ἐν Ἄργει ἐοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἴστὸν ὑφαίνοις, καί κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηΐδος ἢ Ὑπερείης*. As there were springs of these names at Therapné in Laconia and in Thessaly respectively, the lines were taken as meaning that Andromaché is to be the slave of either Menelaus or Achilles. Now Dr. Leaf shows that Pindar and Sophocles know a famous spring Hypereia, which is at Pherae, and the locality of which is known to their hearers by the mere name. Homer knows it too, so it must be the same one, and Hector contemplates that Andromaché will be carried off to Pherae. On this it is held to be 'hardly disputable' that Pherae was in the realm of Achilles. But only if the interpretation of the men of old was correct. That, however, was a mere guess which all authorities do not accept. It may be suggested that the indication to Andromaché of the individual master she will have to serve is an extreme touch that would spoil an exquisite scene. Also, the ascription to Hector of such a minute knowledge of localities in Greece is unlikely (Monro, *a.l.*). The better view has been held that the poet is merely mentioning two well-known springs in Greece without further suggestion. And there is the possibility, which must have occurred to many who have considered the passage, that the words *Μεσσηΐς* and *Ὑπερείη*, each obviously derived from a word signifying position, are not proper names at all, but mean 'the middle or upper well,' as Mr. Allen translates in *CQ* iii 94. But, be that as it may, it is clear there is no good ground for giving Pherae to Achilles and Peleus, if we do not give them Iolcus.

On the whole, it does not appear that any valid reason has been adduced for the view that 'Homer' assigned to Peleus a spacious realm which a reckless 'Cataloguer' afterwards split up into a number of domains.

THE ASSEMBLY AT AULIS—I

CR XXXI (1917)

ONE of the counts in Dr. Leaf's new indictment of the 'Cataloguer' is concerned with the gathering at Aulis. He argues (*H and H* 100 ff.) that the Achaean fleet did not assemble there. 'A less suitable place could hardly be found.' Navigation is difficult owing to currents in the various channels. Drinking water is scarce. And the Euripos is exposed to heavy squalls.

A vessel coming from the south enters the Euripos by the Burj channel, and after sailing along the Euripo Outer Port has to pass the Steno channel. It has then to negotiate the Euripos proper in order to get into the Euboean Sea. So the Euripos is 'not easy of access on either side.'

The Burj channel, which is described as 'narrow and tortuous,' is some 500 yards across. A sailing vessel in these days should, it is stated, have a fair or leading breeze—which sometimes fails—or have recourse to warping. This is taken from the *MP*, which, however, also mentions that the tide rarely exceeds two miles an hour. So that the Achaean vessels could have had no difficulty whatever here. They had a broad channel, only a moderate tide against them—if it always flows in the one direction—they could wait for the favouring breeze, and, if it failed, they could take to their oars. Some of the ships had 120 rowers, others as few as fifty. In either case, we can see that no difficulty would be caused to the Achaeans by the Burj channel.

At the Steno the conditions are just as in the Burj. Here again it is important to remember a fact not mentioned by Dr. Leaf, but vouched by the *MP*, that, though the channel is much narrower than the Burj, being only 114 feet at its minimum width, the current seldom exceeds two miles an hour. The Steno would be almost as easy for the Achaeans as the Burj.

There remains the Euripos proper, and here the obstruction to navigation is greater. It is as narrow as the Steno, and tidal currents race through it. 'Except for a few days at neaps, both streams set about six hours each way, attaining

at springs a velocity of six or seven knots an hour, which gradually decreases to neaps.' This is quoted from the *MP*, but the manual adds, 'during neaps the stream is irregular, and its strength from half to one knot an hour, but at times during this period there is little tidal movement.' Thus there are, for vessels that can watch and wait, opportunities for passing the strait with ease. Narrow as it is, the *MP* says that steamers can pass it 'in any condition of weather or current.' It may even be passed at night. A sailing vessel has of course to be ready 'under weigh before slack water.' Vessels propelled by oarsmen, and plenty of them, and not pressed for time but able to choose favourable conditions, could have no difficulty in getting through.

To Dr. Leaf the Euripos is a 'trap,' and he thinks it is impossible Agamemnon could have been 'so distraught as to bring his fleet into these waters.' In fact the terrors are painted in colours so strong that we expect confirmation from classical literature, but there seems to be none. From legend there is never a word of any Charybdean horrors. The oracles are dumb. The Argonauts, for example, went through ἔκηλοι (*Ap. Rhod.* iv, 1778). Nor does history tell us that the perils of the Euripos compelled mariners to avoid it. On the contrary, we hear from Mr. Zimmern of the importance of 'the sea road through.' 'The Euripus was probably the ordinary road for northward bound ships from Piraeus, for the eastern coast of Euboea, in the summary language of the old pilot, "is rocky, irregular, precipitous and destitute of harbours; therefore it must always be avoided."' See *The Greek Commonwealth*, 28, and the references there. 'Sailing through the Euripos' seems to have been quite a usual thing. If we disbelieve the tradition that Agamemnon took his fleet through, we shall have to doubt Herodotus when he tells us the Persians did the same. They could not have been familiar with the locality, or its navigation, yet they braved the dangers. They preferred the straits to the Euboean headlands. Caphareus and Geraistos were stormy capes, and Bérard has shewn us what ancient mariners would do to avoid such localities. See also Tozer, *Classical Geography*, 77, and Professor Manatt, *Aegean Days*, 27, who speaks of 'the old safe waterway,' and Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, i 79, on the attractions of this stretch of *tiefes stilles*

Fahrwasser. So we need not be frightened by Dr. Leaf. His effort reminds us of the stories told by the 'grave Tyrian trader' to keep 'the young light-hearted masters of the waves' from following in his tracks. *Μορμώ*! Bogies!

To help out the argument from the terrors Dr. Leaf has recourse to a principle of naval strategy. 'For the individual vessel an alternating tide is an assistance . . . but it is a different story when we have to deal with a fleet of nearly 1,200 ships. A fleet is worthless unless it is kept together, and how is such a fleet to be kept together when each ship has to wait for slack water four times a day to make the passage?' A fleet is worthless unless it is kept together. We cannot say, with another well-known shipping authority, that 'the bearings of this observation lays in the application on it,' for it clearly has no application in the present case. If two fleets are out looking for each other with a view to a meeting, each will no doubt do wisely not to scatter its force. But in this case there was no second fleet. Dr. Leaf tells us, and no doubt correctly, that the Trojans seem not to have owned a fleet. So Agamemnon had nothing to fear. He did not need to keep his fleet together. He could take it through the Euripos at his leisure, dealing at the three narrows—or rather the two, for the Burj would not trouble him in the slightest—with 'the individual vessel' or with his ships in batches, just as he pleased, in perfect security that his operations would not be interrupted.

But further, 'a practical general . . . would aim at assembling his navy within striking distance of his objective, thus avoiding many risks and multiplying his power. An obvious place for such a rendezvous is Lemnos, with its magnificent harbour,' and Dr. Leaf has argued in *Troy* that Lemnos 'was essential as the Achaian base.' We hear in the *Iliad* of the Achaeans once upon a time drinking and boasting in Lemnos, so it is concluded that Lemnos and not Aulis was the rendezvous of the original story. But a rendezvous and a base are different things. The argument in fact seems to be, Lemnos would have been a splendid place for a base, so Agamemnon would never have selected Aulis as a rendezvous, and is difficult to follow, even when we concede all the advantages claimed for Lemnos as a base, and allow further that the Achaeans did use it in that way. Why should

Agamemnon not proclaim a rendezvous nearer home? As a matter of fact, the tradition gives us ground for saying that Agamemnon was wise in appointing a central rendezvous in Greece itself, instead of one near Troy. Some ships might not turn up. It would surely be safer to assemble the whole armada in Greece before starting. And the tradition tells that chiefs did make trouble. As a friend to whom the same view has occurred puts it, the Achaeans did not all 'attest willingly.' The stories about Odysseus and Achilles are familiar. Cinyras, who could joke with safety from distant Cyprus, withheld the 100 good ships he had promised, and sent 100 toy-ships of clay instead. Poimandros of Tanagra flatly refused to come. So did Teuthis of Arcadia, and, *σχέτλιος ὀβριμοεργός*, even stabbed Athené when she remonstrated with him. There are hints at difficulties and the necessity for 'stiff fines,' by Homer himself, in the cases of Echepōlos of Sikyon and Euchēnor of Corinth. Had Agamemnon sailed to Lemnos to wait for his many vessels to join him, he might have found himself in a plight. After ten years of preparation and experience of the temper of his subordinates, he was not so foolish as to run the risk. He chose a safer course, and one, as we have seen, without practical difficulty.

Again, it is thought the Achaeans would have done better to meet in 'the splendid shelter of the Pagasaean bay.' But there would have been no advantage in that. The great mass of the ships—all in fact except the few from the extreme north and the south-east—would have, in order to get there, to traverse the Euripos all the same, unless, which is unthinkable, they went outside Euboea. And when they were once in the quiet, landlocked stretches of the Euripos, it would be ridiculous to take them into the Pagasaean waters simply to bring them out again.

As to facilities for watering troops, they may be poor at present, for the hills are, as elsewhere in Greece, bare, but we cannot assume that the Aulis coast was as waterless in Achaean days as now. That there was a spring we know from Homer, and we know from Pausanias that it existed in his day. Frazer mentions a brook that falls into the bay. But present day conditions in this respect prove nothing. Nor does it seem of importance for present purposes to

decide in which particular *limen* in the vicinity of Aulis Homer conceives the assemblage to have taken place. As to the squalls that blow down on the Euripos, we may ask what part of the Mediterranean littoral is free from that danger.

The Euripos was in every way a most suitable place for the gathering of the Achaean clans. It was central, secluded, and convenient for supplies. It was on the way to Troy for all but the northern and island contingents, which certainly could easily reach it. In very ancient times, as Strabo testifies, the *Αἰολικὴ ἀποικία* set out from that part of Boeotia, which authorities tell us occupied in those days a position of much importance. It is perhaps significant that it is here that Aeschylus makes the line of beacon fires strike the mainland of Greece. That there was a port of Aulis in early days we know from Hesiod, *Opp.* 651, who also accepts the Homeric tradition which Dr. Leaf condemns. Gruppe (*Griech. Mythol.* 635) tells us that Lesbian poetry also knew of the assembly, and, according to Suidas, Simonides of Karystos wrote a work on *ἡ εἰς Αὐλίδα σύνοδος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν*, but his floruit seems to be unknown. But in fact the gathering was accepted as historical truth throughout antiquity. The ancients knew well what the navigation of the Euripos involved, yet they not only never took objection to its passage by Agamemnon, but actually represented fleets as doing the same thing in historical times. And lastly, there is confirmation of Homer from researches in our own day. Messrs. Wace and Thompson (*op. cit.* 252, and *LAA* iv 138) inform us that the trade-route to the Troad from Greece started from Aulis, and that that was why the Achaean fleet assembled there before making for Troy. With the existence of such a trade-route the 'Oriental influence' in the Euripos of which Gruppe writes agrees.

So much for the unsuitability of Aulis as a starting-point for the expedition. Other arguments used to discredit the Homeric account remain to be examined.

THE ASSEMBLY AT AULIS—II

CR XXXI (1917)

In addition to the unsuitability of the vicinity of Aulis, there are arguments from the Homeric text. The first is based on Nestor's advice to Agamemnon in *B* 360 ff. to separate his warriors by tribes and clans. This advice is said to be startling in the tenth year of the war—which is the old and now forgotten argument against the *Teichoskopia*—and after nine years without defeat—which is the objection to the Wall, and like it ignores the secession of Achilles, the incipient despair and misery of Agamemnon, and the mutinous spirit of the army. So the advice is either 'sheer lunacy' or it must have been given when the army was being formed in Greece itself. Dr. Leaf forbears *de lunatico inquirere* and adopts the second alternative. 'It was originally spoken, not at Troy, but at the gathering at Aulis.' But certainly it is not the sort of advice that would be given when the men were on shipboard waiting to proceed to Troy, and Nestor's words clearly imply they are applicable to operations in the field. So the conclusion is quite unacceptable. The view taken by Andrew Lang on pp. 281 f. of *H and A* seems much better. Monro quotes Herodotus and Tacitus very effectively.

We are to see in this advice 'the handiwork of the Cataloguer,' who inserted it to prepare for his *Catalogue*. But he must also have inserted *B* 445 f., where we are told the advice is carried out—*οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐωνα διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες θῦνον κρίνοντες*. It will be easy to say that that also is the handiwork of the Cataloguer or some 'arranger,' but many, Dr. Leaf included, consider 441 ff. to be an essential part of the old *Iliad*. So to pursue the matter further will only lead us, with critics of *B* generally, *μετ' ἀπρήκτους ἔριδας*, like Agamemnon himself, and we may leave it there.

It is useless for any one to discuss the propriety of such a piece of advice from Nestor—not the only counsel of the kind which comes from his mouth in the *Iliad*—because Homer tells us so little about the military arrangements between the landing at Troy and the Wrath. It is a constant

grievance of the Higher Criticism that Homer tells us just what he needed for his own purposes, but it is unreasonable to require more from him, or to argue against the text from supposed omissions. Dissectors of the *Iliad* should bear in mind, what some of themselves, Dr. Leaf included (on *A* 71), admit, that much knowledge of the *Troica* is evidently taken for granted. If they knew how much, they might be more leniently disposed towards the poem. As it is, much of their argumentation is at random. *Ne damnent quod non intellegunt*. They should not discourse as if they knew all there is to know.

The handiwork of the Cataloguer is also seen in *B* 301 ff., which may be set out with Dr. Leaf's punctuation in his edition:

> *εὖ γὰρ δὴ τόδε ἴδμεν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἐστὲ δὲ πάντες*
> *μάρτυροι, οὓς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι·*
> *χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ' ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν*
> *ἠγερέθοντο . . .*

No one, it is said, has ever given a satisfactory explanation of this latter part, which Dr. Leaf now translates, 'while the ships were assembling at Aulis yesterday and the day before.' It is, however, found to be 'quite intelligible if we suppose that the description of the omen at Aulis really belongs to the poem of the gathering of the ships,' and has been inserted in *B*, 'with a certain amount of rounding off, though less than one could have wished.' These last seven words are fatal. There is, in fact, no rounding off at all. Not only that, but if, with Dr. Leaf, we take the words *χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ'* in the sense which he supposes they bore in their original setting, *i.e.* literally 'yesterday or the day before,' they make absolute nonsense of the passage to which they have been transferred. It is impossible to believe an adapter or arranger or faker could have been such a fool. It was surely the business of these meddlers, one would think it would be their prime object, to adapt their interpolations to the context, to smooth over the *juncturae*, and to be careful not to make nonsense or difficulty by their additions to the text as they found it.

That is enough for present purposes, but it may be added that Dr. Leaf, in his edition, followed the great majority

of commentators in not taking the expression literally, but as 'a proverbial expression.' The meaning would be, it is after all as it were but yesterday or the day before that we were at Aulis and were vouchsafed the omen of the god promising us success. The nine years are gone, and we can afford to make light of them now that the fatal day for Troy is at hand. This, however, is said to be strange 'in a passage which is designed to lay special stress upon the length of the war.' But this is surely to misrepresent the object of Odysseus' speech. In seven (291-7) out of the forty-nine lines in it he does refer to the long years of disappointment. It has been a weary time; he does not deny it. But the aim in the whole speech is quite clear. The waiting is at an end and success is at hand, the fulfilment promised by Heaven itself. *τὰ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται* is the consummation to which the speaker leads up.

Lastly, an indication that the assembly at Aulis was not part of the old tradition is found in the concocted story told by Odysseus in beggar's guise to Penelopé in *τ* 165 ff. The old man pretends he is Idomeneus' brother, and tells how he had seen Odysseus in Crete, when the Ithakan was driven to the island 'as he was hastening to Troy' (Dr. Leaf's translation of *ἰέμενον Τροίηνδε*). Odysseus, the beggar says, had on landing enquired for Idomeneus, but the Cretan chief had some days before left for Ilios—*τῷ δ' ἤδη δεκάτη ἢ ἑνδεκάτη πέλεν ἠὼς οἰχομένῳ σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν Ἴλιον εἴσω*. 'It is clear,' Dr. Leaf concludes, 'that the poet who wrote this passage knew nothing of any assembling at Aulis. Odysseus and Idomeneus alike make straight for Troyland from their homes.' And on a later page he argues that it was to Lemnos and not to Aulis that these chiefs were sailing, to a harbour in sight of Troy and not to 'the secluded trap behind Euboea.' But this is too precipitate. Lemnos must be ruled out at once on Dr. Leaf's own principles and in his own words. 'It is clear that the poet who wrote this passage knew nothing of any assembling at' Lemnos, and Dr. Leaf is estopped from mentioning a base there, though of course the Achaeans may have called to refresh themselves.

The conclusion Dr. Leaf desires is based on that old and most useful canon of the Higher Criticism that, when the

poet does not mention a thing, the critic may infer the poet 'did not know' that thing. One need not waste words over the fallacy at this late date, but one may at least claim that the feigned tales of Odysseus are not fit subjects for the serious criticism which is applied to the narratives of, for example, the ancient historians. A still more important consideration, however, is this, that Dr. Leaf's rendering of the text cannot be accepted. His theory requires that we translate ἰέμενον Τροίηνδε 'going to Troy direct,' or, in his own words, 'making straight for Troy.' But this will not do at all, as an examination of the uses of the verb shows. The Achaeans in *B* 154 are described as οἴκαδε ἰέμενοι when they were only making preparations to sail. Telemachus in *ρ* 5 is ἄστυδε ἰέμενος before he has left the swineherd's steading. The two words can only mean that Telemachus was bent on going to the town, or had that in his mind. And so in the feigned tale the meaning need be no more than that Odysseus was sailing with Troy as his ultimate destination. As for Idomeneus, who is said to have gone 'to Troy,'[1] must we accept the expression, in a concocted version of events that happened twenty years before (as the beggar himself reminds Penelope, *τ* 222), as meaning he had gone straight to Troy? Should we expect Aulis to be mentioned? Must we condemn the poet for not telling us all the facts he might have introduced? If so, we shall say it is strange we are not told Odysseus had his fleet of twelve ships with him. Rather we recall Dr. Leaf's own dictum, already referred to, that 'the earlier history of the expedition is evidently presumed as a familiar story,' incidents in which are passed over *sub silentio*, and refer to Professor Scott's conclusion in *CJ* xii 129, that 'the poet (of the *Odyssey*) repeated little or nothing to his hearers with which they were already familiar.' It is surely hypercritical to expect perfect precision and fulness of detail, according to our taste and critical requirements, in any part of the epic narrative, but especially in regard to a tale the character of which the poet himself emphasizes in the words, ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. The poet's object in sending Idomeneus to Troy

[1]The lines about Idomeneus (quoted above) have been used earlier in the beggar's story, 182 f.: 'My brother Idomeneus went to Troy with the Atreidae (while I stayed at home).' No one would remark *there* on the omission of Aulis.

was to get him out of the way, so that it should fall to his soi-disant brother to entertain Odysseus. If the poet sent him to Troy without reference to Aulis, few will blame him. No one in an ancient audience would have noticed the omission, and that is really all the defence necessary.

But, if more be necessary, let us grant that Odysseus and Idomeneus were each making his way *straight to Troy*. Other chiefs would presumably do the same. Then what about the principle of naval strategy, already discussed, that a fleet must be kept together, if every unit sought the scene of operations in Asia by itself? What was dangerous in the Euripos would surely be doubly so out in the Aegaean.

The rejection of the assembly at Aulis as not being part of the old tradition is an element in the case for the Boeotian origin of the *Catalogue*, and a new addition to the familiar arguments. The theory, like those of the lateness and inferiority of the *Doloneia*, the 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey*, and many others, suited the spirit of the Homeric criticism of the nineteenth century, and was readily elevated to the position of an assured result of the Higher Criticism. But the foundation on which it was reared is quite unsubstantial. One ground is that the Boeotians are mentioned first. Well, as the men of old remarked, the Cataloguer, whoever he was and whenever he flourished, had to begin somewhere, and it is generally admitted that, beginning as he did, he made a very successful and complete circuit of the Achaean realm. And a central tract like Boeotia, already in those days no mean territory, does seem quite a suitable starting-point. Another ground is that the *Catalogue* was also known as the *Boiotia*. But that was natural enough, as Mr. Allen shows in *CQ* iii 92, when the Boeotians were the first to be mentioned. And, again, Catalogues are a feature of Boeotian poetry. But no one has yet shown that they were its monopoly, and Mr. Gomme seems to be justified in saying in *JHS* xxxiii 55 that 'there is little reason, beyond the agreement of scholars, to support one another' for accepting the idea. Lastly, there have been attempts to confirm this Boeotian origin by shewing that the *Catalogue* was composed in stanzas. The restorations varied, some of their authors choosing stanzas of two lines, others of three, and others again of five; but all were failures. The Boeotian theory, in

short, was far from being established, and was seriously disputed even in Germany. Asia Minor as the home of the Cataloguer has had many adherents.

For the reasons given I think we may reject this attempt to detach the Assembly at Aulis from the old and genuine tradition.

THE KINGSHIP OF AGAMEMNON

CQ XI (1917)

WHAT was Agamemnon's political position in Greece? Was he only king of Mycenae and territory adjoining it, or had he in addition a suzerainty over the rest of the Peloponnesus? Was he sovereign in the whole of the Peloponnesus? Did he exercise any supremacy over, and especially can he be described as king or emperor of, Mycenaean Greece and its islands? In regard to the expedition against Troy, did he command it by virtue of a dominion over the whole of Greece, or was he selected for the position for some special reason, as his relationship to Helen or his pre-eminence in power over the other Achaean princes?

These questions do not appear to have been investigated on a full consideration of the evidence available, though individual opinions have often been stated, sometimes with a certain amount of reason and argument, sometimes as little more than *obiter dicta*. Andrew Lang devoted two chapters of *H and A* (cf. *Anthropology and the Classics*, 51 sqq.) to a consideration of the relation of Agamemnon to the chiefs associated with him at Troy as it can be gathered from the *Iliad*, but does not expressly deal with the position in Greece before the *Troica*. Perhaps we are to infer that the 'loose feudalism' which is found to exist represents the bond which subsisted in Greece. At Troy the chiefs are the peers of Agamemnon, as the paladins were of Charlemagne. He was thus *primus inter pares*, and that is the expression used in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung*, iii, 105, by Lehmann-Haupt, who says Agamemnon was nominated genera-

lissimo by the other leaders. Dr. Leaf, however, in *H and H* 193, is positive that he is 'no mere *primus inter pares*, but supreme monarch,' ' king over land and sea from Crete to Ithaka.' He quotes the dictum of E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii 187, that—in the older constituents of the *Iliad*—Agamemnon is 'ruler over the whole of Greece. The other princes are much more his vassals than his allies.' But it should be added, in regard to the passage on which Dr. Leaf relies, *B* 108, *πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν*, that Meyer holds that the ancients (as the scholiast—*ὅλης τῆς Πελοποννήσου*—and Eustathius, 185, 6) correctly understood *Ἄργος* as there meaning only the Peloponnesus.[1] Drerup, *Homer*[2], 115, characterizes as both 'not demonstrable and improbable' the proposition that the kingdom of Mycenae had extended its dominion beyond the Peloponnesus. Mr. Hall, *OCG* 208, speaks of 'a hegemony in Peloponnese and the islands,' but in his later work, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 66, of 'the political hegemony of the kings of Mycenae and the Argolid in Greece.' Professor Bury, *JHS* xv 222, thinks the Atreidae had no 'sovranty in northern Greece.' Dr. Monro, *Odyssey*, vol. ii, 488, suggested that under the Pelopidae 'Mycenae became for a time the political centre of continental Greece and some of the islands,' and conceives their 'supremacy in "Mycenaean" Greece.' To Seymour, *Life* 590, 96, Agamemnon appears to be merely 'the most powerful ruler of his time in Greece,' and as such, and as having furnished most ships and men, to have been made commander-in-chief of the expedition. Cf. Becker, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Ilias*, 10. And so on.

There is little on which to decide apart from the Homeric evidence, nothing indeed but the fact established by Schliemann's excavations, and itself a confirmation of the Homeric text—and of Hesiod, *πλοῦτον δ' ἔπορ' (Ὀλύμπιος) Ἀτρείδῃσι*, Frag. 205, Rzach—that the monarchs of Mycenae were rich and powerful.[2] In estimating this evidence, we must, as the archaeologists mostly do, take the text as a uniform whole. To break it up into pieces of

[1] And the line occurs in a lay that to Meyer is one of the oldest.

[2] The inference in *H and H* 224, from the remains of made roads, I leave for examination elsewhere.—See now pp. 150 ff. *post*.

unequal value for the elucidation of pre-history is to cut away common ground for discussion. And I accept with Andrew Lang the culture of the poems, including the polity described, as a unit, and themselves of value as history. It is true Homer is primarily a poet. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* do not profess to tell the whole story of the expedition, but only of the recovery of Helen and some incidental matters. The war was fought *Ἑλένης ἕνεκα*. But we, instructed by the archaeologists and others, know that, while the rape of Helen may have been the occasion, it was not the real cause of the war (*Troy*, 328 sq.; Thompson in *LAA* iv 138, and Myres and Frost, *Historical Background of the Trojan War*, in *Klio*, xiv 447 sqq.—the last known to me only from the summary in *W kl Ph* 1916, 1212). That lay deeper. The topless towers fell because of the economic needs of a nation on the other side of the Aegean. Archaeology has come to accept the war, its origin and its result, as historical facts, and generally encourages the belief that there is much in the poems that is genuine history of an age of which no other records, at least no other decipherable records, have survived. If the poems are accurate so far, we need not hesitate to accept their authority as to the polity of the period, if on examination they yield a consistent whole.

The Homeric evidence seems to be almost entirely against an empire extending over Mycenaean Greece. The only passage that can be made to support such a view is the final line, already quoted, in the *Paradosis of the Sceptre*. Dr. Leaf, *op. cit.* 196, founds on this line almost entirely.[1] All depends on the meaning of two words in it. *Ἄργος* can be used in the poems of either the Peloponnesus or the whole of continental Greece. Some authorities, including E. Meyer, as already stated, and Drerup, *op. cit.* 102, approve the more limited interpretation. Dr. Leaf takes it to mean the whole of Greece, but one can hardly say that any reason is given. After showing that the name 'England' spread from East Anglia to the rest of the country in the way *Ἄργος* was extended from Argolis and the Peloponnesus to include the rest of Greece, he says, 'when, therefore, we are told that Agamemnon is king "of all Argos" we are bidden to

[1] It has been condemned. The connection with what goes before is clumsy, and the infinitive *ἀνάσσειν* hard to construe after *φορῆναι*. But I pass the point.

take the name in the widest possible sense,' and we are to conclude on this bidding, which seems to be Dr. Leaf's, that Thucydides was right when he thought that Agamemnon's position was one of real supremacy over all Greece, and that those who believe the king was merely president of a league formed for a special purpose are wrong.

The foundation, if one can be said to exist, is certainly very slender. Against the interpretation there is this, that the passage relates to the sceptre of the Pelopidae, and there is no hint in the tradition of the supremacy of that dynasty outside the peninsula to which they gave their name.[1] The wars of Argos against Thebes seem to contradict it,[2] and in Homer, γ 304, the member of the family who succeeded Agamemnon, after murdering him, ruled only πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης. Moreover, we have the word ἀνάσσειν to reckon with. We cannot say what precisely that verb connoted to the author of the line. It is a word the Homeric use of which varies much, for it can be applied to the omnipotence of Zeus, to the sovereignty of the βασιλῆες who bear rule in the principal divisions of Greece, to the administration of the Dolopian territory by Phoenix under Peleus or the presumably limited power of Epeigeus in Boudeion, and even, as δ 93, to the mere ownership of property. It is, taking the line by itself, extremely bold to say the verb implies an imperial position for Agamemnon, by which we should understand that his writ ran in Aetolia and Boeotia, and that he had garrisons in Orchomenos and the acropolis of Athens. If he enjoyed a mere overlordship, how are we to define it? Were the other chiefs tributaries, formally acknowledging by annual subsidies or 'benevolences' (δωτίνῃσι) the suzerainty of Mycenae? Or did Agamemnon exercise but a shadowy sovereignty, τῶν ἄλλων, in the quaint phrase of Eustathius, ψυχῇ δεσπόζων? The exact meaning of ἀνάσσειν in *B* 108 is hard to fix, and the line proves nothing.

The appeal to Thucydides, too, seems not only not to favour the conclusion that there was a kingship over Greece,

[1] I can find none. On the other hand, there seems to be much, in later tradition at least, that is to the contrary effect.

[2] They may have significance in another way. Mr. Hall, *OCG* 233, thinks the legend may point to a non-Achaean origin for the Kadmeians. If so, the less chance of Achaean dominion over them.

but even to be against it. The historian's words, quoted by Dr. Leaf from the well-known chapter, i 9, are, *'Αγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προύχων*—cf. Homer's *δυνάμει ἄριστος*, Ψ 891—*τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι*, and they seem to embody Seymour's view stated above. Moreover, Thucydides adds that Agamemnon, having inherited the resources of the Pelopidae, and being possessed of a stronger fleet than any other prince, *τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι*. The supremacy indicated is surely no more than a mere superiority in power, and very far from being the possession of an empire over Greece. The princes join the enterprise through goodwill towards, or fear of, a powerful neighbour, not as subjects.

As for the *πολλαὶ νῆσοι*, to conclude offhand that they were all the large and important islands 'that lie about Greece' is merely to enlarge the first assumption that *"Αργος* means all Greece. And not only does *πολύς* not mean 'all,' but it cannot even be pressed to the meaning 'many,'[1] for in Homer it can be used of a number much less than what can be so described. The scholiast seems to assume some control over the larger islands, but only *διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ "Ιλιον στρατείαν*. To those who hold that the probable meaning of *"Αργος* in *B* 108 is the Peloponnesus—and no one can deny the possibility—the *πολλαὶ νῆσοι* may well be some of the islands in the vicinity of the peninsula, as Cythera in the south—which a tradition gave as the home, possibly the fief, of Thyestes, and of Aegisthus after him (Merry and Riddell on δ 514)—the group at the end of the Argolic Akté called the Islands of Pelops (Pausan. ii 34, 3; cf. Thraemer, *Pergamos*, 53), which have Mycenaean remains and are not assigned to Diomede by the Cataloguer, and some of the Cyclades, perhaps Melos and Thera (Mr. Thompson, *l.c.* 135; for Melos Dr. Mackenzie's paper in the Phylakopi volume of the *BSA* seems to give some support, e.g. p. 270, approved by Mr. Hall in *CR* xix 83b). The real extent of this island dominion must be left undefined for want of evidence.

[1]See, e.g. Ameis-Hentze *a.l.*, *παντί wie πολλῇσιν, ein die wirklichen Verhältnisse übertreibender Ausdruck*. It is interesting to notice that in another Homeric passage, ι 22 sqq., which is a geographical crux—to Leukas-Ithaka disputants—*πᾶς* (in *πανυπερτάτη*) and *νῆσοι πολλαί* recur and have to be translated with the same reservation.

There are two descriptions in the *Iliad* which might be pressed by some to imply a sovereignty over Greece—*A* 78 sq., *ὃς μέγα πάντων Ἀργείων κρατέει καὶ οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί*, and *K* 32 sq., *ὃς μέγα πάντων Ἀργείων ἤνασσε, θεὸς δ' ὣς τίετο δήμῳ*. But these lines may equally be taken as applicable to a leadership at Troy, and as only conveying what is more explicitly stated in *ω* 26 sq. (Achilles to Agamemnon), *οὕνεκα πολλοῖσίν τε καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἄνασσες δήμῳ ἔνι Τρώων*. Cf. 30 sq., *τιμῆς ἀπονήμενος ἧς περ ἄνασσες δήμῳ ἔνι Τρώων*. Further, if the passage in *K* is to be construed in the larger sense, it will be, to the many who believe that book to be a very late addition to the *Iliad*, destructive of the idea of Drs. Meyer and Leaf that the Cataloguer, also a very late composer, broke up the empire of Agamemnon into cantons because men of that late age were so oppressed by the divided condition of Greece as they knew it, that they could not imagine the possibility of its ever having been subject to one central power. It seems better, and certainly it seems quite legitimate, to accept the lines in *K* as describing Agamemnon's position at Troy.

The rest of the evidence gives no ground for arguing a kingship of Greece. Some of it is to the contrary effect, and it is all consistent with the view that Agamemnon was elected[1]—*χειροτονητός* is Eustathius' word—by the other Achaean chiefs to lead the expedition undertaken on his brother's behalf. The epithets used with his name do not help. *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* might, if we know exactly what it implies. We can only say it is no imperial title, or it would not be given to Aeneas, Eumelus and others. Fanta may be right (*Der Staat in der Il. u. Od.* 29) in thinking it indicates the headship of a confederacy as *Oberfeldherr*. *εὐρυκρείων* is quite indefinite. It may very well be used with reference to an overlordship—of part of the Peloponnesus—in addition to the kingdom of Mycenae. *ἄριστος, πολλὸν ἄριστος, μέγ' ἄριστος* and *ἔξοχος πάντων* can only indicate a pre-eminence over the other chiefs which is perhaps more fully put by Achilles' *δυνάμει ἄριστος*, *Ψ* 891. The superiority of Agamemnon's resources in men and ships is

[1]According to Philostratus, *Heroicus* VIII, Idomeneus was ready to assist if the Cretans were made *συμμέτοχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι*. This is quoted by Fuchs, *De varietate fabb. Troic.* 72, who also notes there was a threat to put Palamedes in Agamemnon's place if Iphigeneia were not sacrificed.

mentioned, and not in the *Catalogue* alone, *B* 577, 580, but elsewhere, as *I* 73, 97 sq. Nestor tells Achilles Agamemnon is 'in greater place,' *A* 281, and cf. 325, but that is because he has a larger following, *ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει*, and not because he is emperor of Greece. So Agamemnon to Achilles, *A* 186. The latter has himself to admit *force majeure*, *ὅ τε κράτεϊ προβέβηκε*, *Π* 54.

That Agamemnon is supreme at Troy admits of no question. He collected and brought the army, *Δ* 179, *I* 338 sq., and cf. *Ξ*84 sq., and commands it there, *B* 234, 344 sq., 362 sqq., with power of life and death, *B* 391 sqq., and cf. 193. *πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος*, as Aristotle wrongly quoted.[1] He has in fact the position of a *βασιλεύς* towards the host, being their leader in the fight, praying and sacrificing on their behalf, and entrusted with chief executive and judicial functions, *σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας*, *I* 99. The other chiefs are subordinate to him at Troy, and his *γέροντες* for the time. He is *βασιλεύτερος* than they and *βασιλεύτατος* of all, *I* 70, 160, 392. There had to be a head of the coalition, *εἷς κοίρανος, εἷς βασιλεύς*, *B* 204 sq., a head at once of the army in the field and of what may be called the civil government that was necessary in the camp.

That, in subordination to this head for the time being, the other chiefs retained their independence and had surrendered nothing in regard to their own contingents, seems clear enough. Not only is there no hint that they had been ordered to join, or of a fiery cross sent *κατ' Ἀχαΐδα πουλυβότειραν* with a curt intimation of the muster-place, but, on the contrary, according to Homer (and the *Cypria*), deputations had to traverse the country, *λαὸν ἀγείροντες*, and persuading them to take part in the war (*Λ* 765 sqq. of Achilles, and *ω* 116, 119 of Odysseus. Cf. Pausan, i 43, 1 of Agamemnon's journey to Megara, *Κάλχαντα ἕπεσθαι πείσων*). Their great goddess helped, and 'worked till she gently perspired,' as she herself tells us, *Δ* 27 sqq. Some chiefs, the tradition said, refused service. Those who consented to serve went to Troy *ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι*, *B* 249, 762, *ρ* 104, *τ* 183, not under them, and not in obedience to a command, but obliging the brothers—*χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι*

[1]But there are limitations even here, as Achilles' promise to Kalchas in A 86 sqq. shows.

φέροντες, ε 307 (cf. *A* 158, ὄφρα σὺ χαίρῃς, said to Agamemnon), just as Pandarus came to Troy, φέρων χάριν Ἕκτορι δίῳ, *E* 211. They promise to do their best for them, *B* 286, 339 sqq. There had been σπονδαί and δεξιαί between them and the leader of the expedition. They have promised to be, in Idomeneus' words, *Δ* 266 sq., allies, ἐριηροὶ ἑταῖροι. All this indicates their independence. Cf. Fanta, *op. cit.* 20 sqq. Achilles rates himself as the ὁμοῖος of Agamemnon, *Π* 53, and, when subjected to insult and injustice, will abandon his part in the war and return home, *A* 169. It is apparently a matter of his pleasure —οὐκ ἐθέλω πολεμιζέμεν, *I* 356, 619. If Achilles could act in that way, so could any chief. None would admit compulsion. οὐκ οἶδα δεσπότας κεκτημένος, as Eustathius quotes, 674, 58. The plain speaking, the sneers and vituperation that the king has to endure from Achilles, Sthenelus, Diomede and Odysseus, hardly require to be set out in detail. He is coward, liar, wretch, fool, wine-bibber, babbler, and he and his plans are not merely criticized but even ridiculed. He has to swallow with meekness what he himself describes as ἐνιπὴ ἀργαλέη, *Ξ* 104 sq.

If the author of the picture of the position at Troy given in the *Iliad* had thought of Agamemnon as sovereign of all the Achaean lands, the language used must surely have been very different. And the negative evidence is particularly strong, inasmuch as there are occasions when the poet could hardly have failed to mention and emphasize Agamemnon's sovereignty throughout Greece. One of these is the *Teichoskopia*. Agamemnon is naturally the first of the heroes on the field that the poet makes Priam single out, but all he is told by Helen is that her brother-in-law is a good βασιλεύς and a stout spearman, *Γ* 179. Here surely was an opportunity that could not have been neglected. Another is the great moment when the commander-in-chief arms for that *Aristeia* in which he is to drive the Trojans 'like wind in the sky' to the gates of their city. The description, *A* 15 sqq.,[1] is most elaborate, and ends with a special distinction. The two goddesses of the Achaeans thunder in the genera-

[1]The critics, to be sure, regard the passage as late, mainly because of the mention of Cyprus and the Gorgon's head! But, as Andrew Lang has remarked, the reconstruction of the old *Iliad* without it has the effect of sending Agamemnon out at the head of his troops 'in his shirt.'

lissimo's honour, but he is honoured simply as the 'King of golden Mycenae,' not as Lord of Greece. Similarly, no word in the great quarrel scene in *A* or in either *Nekyia* in the *Odyssey* indicates that Agamemnon was king of kings in Greece, and we must conclude that such a thing was not present to the poet's mind.

The reply to this will be that the poet archaized.[1] He threw back into the early age of which he sang the political conditions obtaining in the period and surroundings in which he lived. But were the ancient conditions very different from the more modern? Mr. Chadwick does not think a satisfactory case has been made out (*The Heroic Age*, 436 n.). We must also assume that the empire of Agamemnon over Greece had been forgotten. If it was forgotten, we shall apparently require an Achaean, not an Ionian, Homer, for Ionian conditions do not suit (Finsler in *N. Jbb.* 1906, 1 *Abt.* 393 sq., and Andrew Lang, *Anthropology and the Classics*, 53, and in other works). Now an Achaean Homer must have flourished in sub-Mycenaean days, and in so short a period the empire, including a thalassocracy, could hardly have faded from men's memories. These do not appear to have been so short. If Agamemnon's dominion over Greece was not conceivable to the Greece of the Cataloguer and the Logographers, it is strange that the still earlier empire of Knossus was known to the Greece of still later authors, as Herodotus and Thucydides.

In *H and H* 259, the break-up of the empire of the Pelopidae is attributed to a cause inherent in despotisms, the inability of the stock to keep up the supply of men of sufficiently heroic mould. There came a time when an emperor succeeded to the throne who was not *capax imperii*, and the dominion fell asunder. The process of disintegration is said to be discernible in the *Iliad*. The behaviour of the chiefs to the weak man above them signifies that the end of the empire is near—that is, if the empire ever existed, but that has still to be proved.

We cannot go so far. One potentate pre-eminent in power above the others seems to suit the facts. To say Agamemnon

[1]On this point reference may be made to Seymour, *op. cit.* 19 sqq.; Keil in Gercke and Norden, *op. cit.* iii 340; Hall, *OCG* 223 sq.; Allen in *CR* xxv 235; Andrew Lang, *H and A* 1 sqq., and elsewhere; Leaf's *Troy*, 22; and Belzner, *Hom. Probl.* i 2 sqq., and 102 sqq.

enjoyed a suzerainty over the rest does not help. It may involve only the 'more or less loose kind of allegiance' of which Mr. Hall speaks (*OCG* 223). But such an allegiance need be no more than the fear of *uis major* that Thucydides suggests. And so for the 'somewhat indefinite hegemony,' which Mr. Chadwick allows (*op. cit.* 388). The Achaean age was one of unstable conditions. Territorial limits, as Seymour thinks, were probably not exactly determined, and no doubt often changed, as in ancient India. He took who had the power. A chief acquired a commanding position by personal prowess and other qualifications, and maintained and extended it by growing resources at the expense of his neighbours. He might have treaties or understandings with these,[1] but they would be as easily broken as in the present age. Might was right, and inevitably he who had the greatest power κατ' Ἀχαιΐδα would be conceded a superiority over the rest that would carry with it an initiative in any Pan-Achaean enterprise. These could not help themselves. Agamemnon, it is possible and even probable, occupied this position of pre-eminence. By virtue of it, and as Menelaus' brother, he was naturally designated commander-in-chief of the expedition to Troy. No other bond between him and the other princes can be proved at present. But archaeological research, and further study of the sagas of the Peloponnesus, may add to our knowledge of the then existing relations between nations or tribes, and so make clearer the nature of the dominion of the Pelopidae.

ΠΟΛΥΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΜΥΚΗΝΗ

CR XXXII (1918)

The Homeric poems and Schliemann's excavations alike attest the wealth of Mycenae in the age to which the fortress has given its name. If we ask how it acquired this

[1] ἄρθμιοι, π 427, indicates one such agreement, by which, however, we need understand no more than that the people concerned had agreed for a time to abstain from the plundering of each other's territory that was evidently a normal, standing practice.

wealth, we have two theories to choose between. Bérard, in *Ph.et Od.* i 11 and 78, suggests that the lords of Mycenae amassed their riches by the taxation of goods in transit past their mountain stronghold. He finds, in fact, in its position an illustration of his Law of the Isthmus,[1] according to which traders in those early days avoided the perils of the promontories of the Aegean, and at the same time shortened journeys by sea, by unloading goods on one side of an isthmus and reloading into ships on the other. The merchants who carried on the trade which he believes existed between the east and the west of the Mediterranean shrank from the dangerous route round the capes in the south of the Peloponnesus, and preferred to land their wares at Nauplia and have them transported by land to Corinth, past Mycenae, which took generous toll of the traffic.

It cannot be doubted that, if there was such a trade and its volume was considerable, there is here a simple and reasonable explanation, in part at least, of the greatness of Mycenae. Dr. Leaf, however, in *H and H* 215 ff., denies the existence in Mycenaean days of any maritime commerce dependent on the Isthmus of Corinth. He even denies the existence of Corinth itself in those days, and of trade by land of any importance between the Peloponnesus and the north of Greece. Nothing but purely local commerce could have passed Mycenae, and as there was little or none, Mycenae 'derived nothing from the taxation of caravans.' He argues that Agamemnon was king of all Greece, both the continent and the islands, and that Mycenae owed its dominance and resources to its political and military position. He and Bérard are thus in conflict, and it may be useful to inquire if further light can be thrown on the main point, the traffic past Mycenae.

Much depends in this matter on the view that is taken of the political conditions in Greece towards the end of the Mycenaean Age. These have been investigated by Dr. Leaf in the chapter entitled 'The Realm of Agamemnon,' from which I have already quoted, but careful examination of the numerous propositions which he there seeks to establish will,

[1]Cf. Murray, *RGE*[2] 57 f. For criticism of the Law see Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, 24 and 312; on the application of the theory to Boeotia, Mr. Gomme in *BSA* xviii 189 ff.; and for a modern portage—across the Isthmus of Hierapetra in Crete—Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, 90.

it appears to me, leave the reader unconvinced on practically every point. I venture to think that decisions on the principal questions raised all make for confirmation of Bérard's position.

One of these questions relates to Agamemnon. The view that he was king or emperor of the whole of Greece, including the islands is difficult of acceptance. I have discussed the question at length in *CQ* xi 146 ff. (see pp. 126 ff. *ante*), and have nothing to add here. Further, I submit, on another cardinal point, that the delimitation of the realms of Agamemnon and Diomede given by the Cataloguer, is a reasonable one. Dr. Leaf thinks it absurd, and ridicules the picture presented by that late composer, in which we see Agamemnon excluded from Argolis and confined to a strip of wretched country on the Gulf of Corinth, while Diomede the vassal is given a far superior domain. That is a comparison which requires detailed investigation, but it will clear the ground if, before making it, I notice the new, or practically new, suggestion regarding the non-existence of Corinth and of trade between east and west in Mycenaean times.

Undeterred by Mr. Allen's warning in *JHS* xxx 297, Dr. Leaf has gone so far as to prophesy that evidence of occupation of the place in Mycenaean days—evidence, that is, not in the shape of 'a few chance sherds' but of 'a real Mycenaean layer'—will never be discovered. But it is just such a layer, to judge from the references in American periodicals to the recent operations of their Archaeological School at Corinth, that has now been found, and it will be for Dr. Leaf to explain away the importance of this new find. Until he has done so, the value of his essay on Agamemnon's realm is very greatly reduced. A perusal of his chapter will show how extremely useful the disappearance of Corinth is for his purpose. If there was no *ἀφνειὸς Κόρινθος* in Mycenaean days, it is one more nail in the coffin of the Cataloguer, whose whole scheme must be discredited when we find him 'projecting into the past an epithet which belonged only to his own time.' If there was no Corinth 'to act as a magnet,' there would be no land trade with the south, and no opportunities, the sea trade between east and west being rejected, for the king of Mycenae to wax fat on transit dues. If there was no Corinth,

Agamemnon's dominion as described by the Cataloguer is, with other disadvantages stated, but a poor thing. If there was no Corinth, it is easy to avoid the conclusion that Agamemnon dominated such trade as passed along the Isthmus or across it. And so on. But all this must be denied Dr. Leaf for the present, and till he succeeds in banishing from archaeological ken what is described as the 'promising Mycenaean settlement' recently uncovered at Corinth.

Support for the case for the abolition of Mycenaean occupation is also sought from the Homeric text. First, the only passage in the *Iliad* outside the *Catalogue* in which Corinth is named, viz. *N* 660-672, is ruthlessly ejected, and Dr. Leaf hopes, but hopes in vain, I feel sure, that the strictest unitarian will not be shocked if he says 'that the mention of the name shows that this episode is post-Achaian.' That seems to beg the question at issue, and the only other reason given, that the episode is not in 'organic connection' with what precedes or follows, need not be regarded. Secondly, some assistance is claimed from the remark of the ancients, that, when the poet speaks, he calls the city *Κόρινθος*, while his *πρόσωπα* 'always' use the name *Ἐφύρη*. As a matter of fact, Corinth is called *Ἐφύρη* (twice, as it happens) by one *πρόσωπον* in the course of one speech, and *Κόρινθος* once by the poet. That is about as poor a basis for the generalization as could be imagined, and there is no other help to be got from the text of the poem.

As to trade in Mycenaean days between east and west, that, so far as my search has gone, appears to be generally accepted.[1] Dr. Leaf himself admits (Appendix G to *H and H*) that long before the Mycenaean age 'there existed conditions which would explain the occupation of the site of Corinth as an emporium. That is to say, there is evidence of a wide and active commerce between the Aegean basin on the one hand and Sicily and southern Italy on the other.' See Mr. Peet in *BSA* xiii 405 f. But this trade, we are to understand, ceased, and the emporium of Corinth vanished, in Mycenaean times. That is hardly likely. And no reason for it, in the political

[1]See, for instance, Tsountas and Manatt, 358 f. ('the larger Mycenaean world the clearing-house of culture for all the Mediterranean lands'); Hall *OCG*, 30, 217 ff., 224 f., and 234 ff., and 283 n.; Busolt, *History of Greece*, i 51; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii 208; Schuchhardt, English Translation, 96, 122; and Beloch, *History of Greece*, i 173 f.

and other conditions of the day, is suggested, unless it be that Corinth was in abeyance. But Corinth it must be maintained for the present, was there all the time. Moreover, even if the trade with Italy and Sicily stopped, there would surely be some from the east with the northern and southern shores of the Gulf, with the Ionian islands outside it, and with the western coast of the Peloponnesus. No other authority, so far as I can discover, has gone so far as to say Corinth had ceased to exist. Some have thought it was of comparatively little importance in the Mycenaean age, but these have now to reckon with the results of American spade-work, and will probably revise their opinions.[1]

The little trade with the far west that may have existed was perhaps, Dr. Leaf thinks, carried on by the Phoenicians as intermediaries. But the presence of that people in the Greek sphere at that early date seems to be extremely doubtful. See, for a recent statement on the point, Mr. Wace in *CGS*[3] 33, and cf. 518. Busolt, *loc. cit.*, accepts the Phoenicians, while Mr. Hall, *OCG* 234 ff., says all the evidence points to a post-Mycenaean date for their first entry into the Aegaean. So Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelleniques*[2], 199. But, even granting their presence, it remains only a conjecture that the trade between east and west was in their hands.

I now revert to one of the principal matters argued in Dr. Leaf's chapter. Before he can establish the proposition that Agamemnon was king of Greece and the islands, it is necessary to discredit the Cataloguer's distribution of the north-eastern portion of the Peloponnnesus between Agamemnon and Diomede. It is contended that the Cataloguer had produced an egregious misrepresentation of the real conditions in assigning to Agamemnon only a poor region on the Gulf, 'bare hills and worthless pebble-beaches,' the king's access to which, when coming from the east, is by rounding Malea and sailing up the western coast of the Peloponnesus, as his subordinate Diomede blocks the simpler approach by the Saronic or the Argolic Gulf.

[1] I may refer to Hall, *op. cit.*, 290 (*greatness* of Corinth exclusively post-Mycenaean) and *Ancient History of the Near East*, 523 (*so far as we know*, not a place of importance); Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 189 n. (Corinth insignificant in *Minoan* times); and Meyer *op. cit.*, ii 155 (saga and remains do not indicate that Corinth played any part in the oldest times).

The truth seems to be that Agamemnon is given a far better territory than Diomede. To begin with Mycenae itself, nothing requires us to believe that he possessed only the rock and castle and the town at its foot. The mere existence of that town implies that there was, as in historical times, a tract of the cultivable plain attached to it. Agamemnon may in fact have owned—it cannot be proved, but neither can the possibility be denied—the upper part of the Argolic plain, and what that was in those days may be gathered from the often quoted description of Aristotle (*Meteorol*, i 14). In the days of the *Troica*, he says, it was much superior to the lower, marshy tract on the sea. And there were good springs there, a 'great treasure in the thirsty plain of Argolis' (*Edinb. Rev.* cccxi 192; *cf.* Bérard, i 11, *auprès de sources constantes, chose rare en cette contrée aride, dans cette Argolide de la Soif*, πολυδίψιον Ἄργος).[1] Argos and Tiryns are in the lower part of the plain, and the Cataloguer assigns to Diomede nothing north of the former.

But then, to digress for a moment, we are to believe that such a division of the plain could not have been, for Professor Meyer has decided that it is 'impossible to cut up the plain region' (or 'the control of the plain'—*das Gebiet der Ebene*) 'in this way' (*op. cit.* ii 184).[2] The Professor's reason is that the Mycenae of the *Urzeit* is 'unthinkable without active connection (*rege Verbindung*) with the sea.' That can be conceded at once. The reply is that Mycenae had such connection at Corinth, as the remains of the roads between the fortress and the emporium show. Dr. Leaf follows Meyer, adding that 'the division which makes Argos a capital town while Mykene is still fortified, and the stronghold of a rival state, is impossible.' Again, 'impossible'! But why? Have two hostile or rival strongholds or cities never maintained themselves in the same plain or river-valley? Such a proposition cannot be accepted. If the Turks

[1]Agamemnon's name was connected with irrigation in the well-known expression Ἀγαμεμνόνεα φρέατα, and Eustathius (461, 14) says of him φρεωρυχίᾳ φιληδεῖν ἱστόρηται. Perhaps he maintained the artificial water supply supposed to be implied in the story of Danaus and the Danaids. Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δαναὸς ποίησεν ἔνυδρον.

[2]Meyer is much too dogmatic, and not a safe guide. I had come to that conclusion, on the number of cases in which I had found his dicta contested by other authorities, before I read Dr. Mahaffy's letter in the *TLS* of April 13th, 1916. Meyer is one of those who believe that Agamemnon was only a Spartan god.

had held on to Baghdad, they would have been faced by Basra in hostile hands. But we need not leave Greece. Tegea and Mantinea were in the same plain of the Arcadian table-land, and we know what their history was. Must we not say that Orchomenos and Thebes could not have existed as separate powers in Boeotia? The commonest natural boundaries of states are doubtless rivers and watersheds, but the needs and passions of their populations are constantly leading to changes. In the Argolid of Achaean days we have two fortresses, one on or near the sea and controlling communication by Nauplia, the other at the northern extremity of the plain, just inside the mountains and commanding the passage to the Gulf, and we know that in the tradition and in history alike it was not 'impossible' for them to preserve separate jurisdictions under different rulers.[1] To add, as Meyer does, that the Heraeum shows Argos, Tiryns and Mycenae were under one and the same jurisdiction does not advance matters, unless we are prepared to admit that communities subject to powers independent of each other have never worshipped at a central shrine of some great godhead.

But to resume. The Cataloguer also gives Agamemnon the fertile valleys in the mountains, especially those of Cleonae and Phlius, the latter specified in the *Catalogue* by 'pleasant Araithyrea': *Ἀραιθυρέα ἡ νῦν Φλιασία*, Eustath. The king has also 'wealthy Corinth' with what Mr. Zimmerman, *op. cit.* 367 n., calls its 'good cornland,' referring no doubt to the plain between it and Sicyon. And he has the whole of the coastland or riviera—*Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα*—from the Isthmus to Elis on the west. But this latter we are asked to believe was worthless—a poor, arid region with a harbourless coast and an intolerable climate. It may be so in these days,[2] but it can hardly have had these defects three thousand years ago, or the tract between Corinth and Sikyon would never have been proverbial as an example of

[1] There was a tradition (*Eustath*, 288, 36) that after Adrastus' death Agamemnon subjugated Argos. If the Cataloguer's opponents accept that story for their own purposes, the impossible division of the plain had evidently been in existence before the conquest.

[2] Dr. Leaf quotes Neumann-Partsch as to present day conditions. That the land in the immediate vicinity of Corinth itself was rough and *οὐκ εὔγεως σφόδρα* in ancient times one can well believe. But it is too much to speak even there of 'the barrenness of the soil.'

agricultural richness—εἴη μοι τὰ μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος. The defects noted are the inevitable results—conspicuous in parts of India, in modern Greece generally, and in other countries—of the denudation by man and beast of the hills to the south from which the streams descend to the Gulf. We are not to assume that, when these hills were covered with jungle and the streams ran quietly from perennial springs, the plains were ill-watered, or the harbours silted up, as Lechaeum now is, with the copious detritus from bared hillsides. As to climate, Dr. Leaf quotes Phillipson in Frazer's *Pausanias* iii 20, as showing that nowadays the winds make the Corinth region intolerable, so bad indeed that, if conditions were the same of old, it is a wonder the site was ever selected or that a city rose to wealth and fame on it. But on the same page Frazer says Diogenes the Cynic 'praised the summer climate of Corinth.' Now it is said to be 'extremely unhealthy in the summer and autumn in consequence of the malaria, for which it is difficult to account, as it receives the sea-breezes from either side.' This seems to be all that the article in Smith's *Dict. Geogy.* contains as to the climate. There is nothing to indicate that it was very bad in antiquity. Malaria, it may be added, is not an uncommon phenomenon in deserted sites. To sum up, we should require much stronger evidence from antiquity to prove that the old conditions were bad. It is not an extravagant suggestion that the present condition of the riviera in question is almost as unlike that in Achaean days, as the state of famine districts in India, where the hills were long ago rendered useless to man and beast, differs from that of forest-clad regions and their vicinity not fifty miles away.

So much for Agamemnon's realm, as given by the Cataloguer, from the point of view of local productiveness. What then of Diomede's? He had the Argolic plain, but probably no more than the central portion between the territory appertaining to the city and fortress of Mycenae and the marshland on the coast. He also had the Akté, the Argolic peninsula on the east, but that was mountainous. Frickenhaus and Müller have investigated it thoroughly, and in one of their papers (*Klio* x 390) Müller says it 'lacks plains.' Surely even as regards agriculture one might say Agamemnon's country was not inferior to Diomede's.

But turn now to commerce. We have first to consider who commanded the Isthmus in Agamemnon's time. According to Dr. Leaf Agamemnon did, as he was emperor of the whole country, but this important possession was apparently of no use to him, except perhaps as already 'a fetter of Greece.' It is also assumed to have been the starting-point of an imagined 'system' of military roads into northern Greece of which no trace now remains, or remained to classical authors.[1] But for purposes of trade, to which it afterwards acted as a magnet of power, this 'unrivalled geographical position' (Hall), this site 'incomparable for trade and navigation' (Bursian), this ἐμπόριον Ἑλλάδος—but why repeat the praises *bimaris Corinthi?*—was useless, because such commerce as existed was insignificant. To that point I shall return, but meantime what is important for us is to see to whom the Cataloguer gives the Isthmus. He gives it to neither Agamemnon nor Diomede, for he does not expressly mention it, strange as the omission would be in a writer of the Logographer age who knew Corinth as 'wealthy,' and must have known what gave her her then wealth and importance. Nor does he mention Megara. But when he says that Agamemnon possessed Corinth, and that Corinth was already distinguished for wealth, and by consequence for power, he surely meant that Agamemnon dominated the Isthmus. It is inconceivable that he meant to give that advantage to any other power, with a strong Corinth and its impregnable citadel at one end of it.

Dr. Leaf hardly discusses the point. Mr. Allen in *CQ* iii 89 had expressed the opinion that the Cataloguer 'views the Saronic Gulf generally up to Salamis (and its Peraea) and Athens as the property of the Argolid monarchy,' and Dr. Leaf at once accepts the view that the Cataloguer gives no port on the Saronic Gulf or the Argolic to Agamemnon, who, to get home from Troy, must sail round the Peloponnesus to Sikyon or Corinth. But he did not know, when he wrote, that there was a Mycenaean Corinth, and a Corinth, as may be confidently asserted, in possession of the south-western end of the Isthmus. That being so, it was possible for Agamemnon to reach his home by sailing to and landing at

[1] See p. 150 f. *post.*

Cenchreae. It is true this place, like the Isthmus itself, is not mentioned in the *Catalogue*, but its non-existence may not be inferred. Many ports are omitted. Nauplia is, and no one will say it did not exist. Athens was occupied, we are assured, for ages before the Mycenaean, and must have had a haven, but is not given one. Nor is Sparta, unless Helos in its marshes does duty for one. So for other places. It will not, I suppose, be denied that the poet, when he composed the *Catalogue* or adapted it to his *Iliad*, had the right to accommodate it, in point of length and detail, to the rest of the poem. As Eustathius says of his omission of an enumeration of the seventy-four Athenian demes, or the most famous of them, *οὐκ εἶχε πάντας εἰς μετροποιίαν κατατάξειν*. That *πολλοὺς σιγηθῆναι τόπους*, as the same authority observes, the poet himself shows in respect of Crete, and may be inferred from his description of Elis and other localities. But even if Cenchraeae was not in existence as a port with an *ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον*, the haven was always there, 'a bay protected by two promontories on the north and south,' and would certainly be used by the power in possession of that end of the Isthmus. It was connected with Corinth by a road that had 'long walls' provided by nature. As for Agamemnon's return home, on which see the note of Merry and Riddell on δ 514, and Seymour, *Life*, 66, the difficulty in interpreting the narrative does not concern us. It is not necessary to believe in a journey round the peninsula. Mr. Allen, it may be added, appears to have reconsidered in *JHS* 297, his original view of the matter.

Dr. Leaf's argument suffers from the assumption for his own purpose, that Mr. Allen has shown that Agamemnon had no ground on the Isthmus, and could not land there, but had to return round Malea, and sarcasm is expended on the Cataloguer's folly in putting the emperor in such a plight in relation to his vassal at Argos. It seems to be assumed, as in the matter of the adaptation of the *Catalogue* to the *Iliad*—'where so good a unitarian as Mr. T. W. Allen leads no unitarian need hesitate to follow'—that any conclusion of Mr. Allen's must be accepted by all those in agreement with him on the question of unity, and that Dr. Leaf may treat them as bound by it. Mr. Allen may be trusted to defend his views with full knowledge and ability, but he

certainly will not urge that they are *res judicatae* to any section of Homeric inquirers.

What then resulted to Agamemnon from command of this most important locality, situated, like Crete, on trade routes between north and south and east and west? It was a puzzle to me, when I first read Bérard's book, how shippers from the east or south-east, bound for the west and anxious to avoid the detour by Malea, should have come to the Argolic Gulf, unloaded at Nauplia, and sent their goods thence on beasts of burden, through a mountainous tract, more than thirty miles to the Gulf of Corinth, instead of coming up the Saronic Gulf to the haven on the Isthmus known to later times as Schoenus, and having the merchandize sent across there, a journey of only three and a half.[1] If Bérard is correct, then Mycenae must, for no other power could, have closed the Isthmus to compel traffic to go to Nauplia and pass the fortress and pay toll. The alternative view is that of traffic across the Isthmus. In either case that locality was, as we must hold on other grounds, within the dominion of Mycenae. I pass the possibility that Mycenae, by virtue of greater power or through arrangement with Argos, had facilities at Nauplia or Epidauros, but certainly from Corinth it commanded the Corinthian Gulf and the trade thence with the west, as well as the land traffic, which I shall deal with presently, between the Peloponnesus and northern Greece.

Here lies the secret of the greatness of Mycenae as exhibited by excavation. Dr. Leaf tells us truly, in *BSA* xviii, 310, that 'if we want to explain by economic facts the greatness of a city, we must fix our minds on the staples of human intercourse—on the wheat and timber, the wine and oil, the hides, wool, linen and hemp, the metal ores, the fabrics, felted or woven, and the slaves, who are the instruments of production.' Agriculture alone could never have given Mycenae her great wealth, any more than Ilios, also

[1]We hear of no *diolkos* in very ancient times. But if the progress of research discloses reason for believing there was one, we need not be surprised. The enormous advantage to seaborne traffic can hardly have been overlooked, and the ships of that early age were small and easily hauled. See the *Odyssey* and Bérard, *passim*. Odysseus himself—all unaided, but δεινὸν τὸ ἡρωϊκόν—ἐδιόλκισε (if I may coin a word) in ε 261, on which see the note of Merry and Riddell. I think no one will now use against me the outworn principle that because Homer does not mention a thing he 'does not know' it.

πολύχρυσος, could have got hers from what Bérard calls *les pauvres marécages du Scamandre* (*cf. Troy*, 255). It was on trade that her lords grew opulent. The very existence of such fortified centres of exchange argues a wide trade (*RGE*² 60 f.). So does the gold in which Mycenae abounded, for the authorities tell us this could only have come from Asia, and it is not likely that her kings owned gold mines there. If we bear in mind the facts that Greece was oppressed by what has been termed 'radical poverty' and that foreign trade was a necessity to her, that Mycenae itself seems to have been the centre of a pottery industry, which was of an extent to be a source of much gain (Bury, *History of Greece*, 36; Busolt², i 112), that she commanded the sea commerce of east and west, and the land traffic between north and south, and that transit dues—Adam Smith's 'duties of passage'—are a common element in the finance of primitive authorities, such as Turkish Beys and Indian Rajas and petty chiefs of the olden time, we cannot doubt that Bérard's theory is correct. It was thus that Sybaris grew wealthy (Zimmern, *op. cit.* 27). Strabo knew that such dues contributed to the riches of Corinth, but the source had been in existence much longer than he had any idea of.

If we now turn to Diomede's realm, and consider it from the same point of view, we see that he had a number of small but good harbours in the Akté besides Nauplia on the Argolic Gulf, and Dr. Leaf refers to roads from those parts to Tiryns, which he conjectures was built to protect trade from these ports in the east, as well as to cover Nauplia. But I have searched for mention of these roads through the mountains of the Akté in vain. There was certainly one from Epidaurus to Tiryns, which was no doubt a line of traffic. Assuming, however, that there were roads from the other ports, what was the traffic from them, and what opportunities had Argos for levying dues on it? She might levy on commerce using her ports, but on how much of it? At full rates, only on trade from the east for her own wants or for the south of the Peloponnesus. On trade between east and west availing itself of the short cut, whether by Nauplia or the ports of the Akté and Mycenae, she would be entirely dominated by the lord of Mycenae, who could stop that trade altogether to the ports of Argos, if he chose, by refusing

transit past Mycenae and opening the Isthmus. Mycenae had the whip hand, and again her superiority, not to mention her levies on the land trade between north and south, is fully apparent.

Altogether it seems clear that the Cataloguer was not guilty of the folly that is imputed to him. He has given the King of Men a much finer domain than he has given Diomede, and the superiority is accurately reflected in the hundred and sixty ships provided for Troy by Agamemnon πολύναυς—just double the Argive fleet. The Cataloguer is fully justified, and there is no need for us to resort to the new hypothesis, incapable of proof, that Agamemnon was emperor of Greece.

But trade over a land route between the north and the Peloponnesus has so far only been assumed. It is now necessary to consider it. Dr. Leaf thinks it impossible, for 'the sea would be an overwhelming competitor.' Even the local trade from Arcadia and Sparta 'would naturally be passed on eastwards through Nauplia and perhaps by Epidauros,' and would not go north to pay transit dues at Mycenae.

The first point is as to the magnitude of this trade, and of this we must judge on what the archaeologists tell us of the prehistory of the Peloponnesus. First, as to Arcadia. Dr. Leaf thinks it was not under the sway of Mycenae, the monarchs of which thought its wild hillmen were best left to themselves. These did not even use civilized weapons.[1] The suggestion is there would be little trade with such a country. But Arcadia is not to be dismissed so lightly. Its people, whatever προσέληνοι may mean, were certainly a very ancient community. It sent out colonies to Cyprus—not to mention Oinotros and Italy—at least as early as the eleventh century B.C. (Sir A. Evans in *JHS* xxxii 288), it was 'penetrated with Minoan ideas' and had 'assimilated a form of Minoan worship.' Mycenaean remains have been found in Tegea, and Mycenaean influence was probably spreading into the country towards the end of the Mycenaean period (Mr. Thompson in *LAA* iv 132). There were routes to the coast in many directions, including one to

[1]This on H 132 ff., Lykoergos the κορυνήτης. The inference from one hero's armature is rash. That he was '*called* κορυνήτης because he did not use bow or spear' points rather the other way. Will the historian of the future deny civilization to our friends the enemy because they have used clubs in trench warfare?

Argos, the road from which to Sparta across the Arcadian plains was a much frequented one in later, and we may well believe in early, days. The tableland contained fertile valleys and plains. Orchomenos[1] is *πολύμηλος* in the *Catalogue*, Mantinea is *ἐρατεινή*, and for Tegea Eustathius quotes the saying, *εὐδαίμων ὁ Κόρινθος, ἐγὼ δ' εἴην Τεγεάτης*. The dwellers in the low country surrounding Arcadia would provide a market for agricultural staples peculiar to its cooler climate, for its timber and other forest produce, for its sheep and cattle, and for the asses for which it was famous, and which would be an important export for purposes of carriage in Achaean Greece, dependent as it was on mere tracks for inland transport. We do not know that Arcadia provided mercenaries to other powers in those early days as in historical times, but the manning of sixty ships for Agamemnon, according to the Cataloguer, is in harmony with later practice. It cannot be granted that Arcadia was as foreign to the world around it as Dr. Leaf suggests.

Beyond Arcadia was Laconia, formerly called, like Crete, *ἑκατόμπολις*. It was certainly a centre of Mycenaean civilization. In addition to other sites a 'settlement of some size and importance' has recently been found near the Menelaion, *BSA* xvi 11. And then, not to mention the western territory, which could be reached through Arcadia, or *"Αργος Ἀχαϊκὸν οὔθαρ ἀρούρης*, which, wherever it may be, was certainly in the Peloponnesus, there was Mycenae itself, *πολύχρυσος* from trade by sea, and a centre of manufacture, as already stated. And there was 'wealthy Corinth.' In the north there were, omitting Attica and the western states and naming only the chief northern centres, Orchomenos and Thebes in the *πίειρα ἄρουρα* of Boeotia, one of the few tracts in Greece equal to the production of a surplus of food available for poorer neighbours. On its then agricultural wealth see Mr. Gomme, *l.c.* 209 f. The richness in legend of both Argos and Thebes implies, as Dr. Leaf observes, a long history, during which trade would surely develop between the two tracts. One cannot, in short, doubt that there would be commercial intercourse inside the Peloponnesus between the Argolid and the states to the south and west, and outside

[1]The Orchomenos of λ 459, mentioned with two other chief towns of the Peloponnesus, may be the Arcadian, and some connection with the Atridae is implied.

it with northern Greece past Mycenae, with its τελώνιον in the pass through the mountains. The danger to the traffic on the narrow road along the Isthmus is reflected in the legend of Theseus, the Attic Herakles, who clears the countryside of robbers—Sciron, Sinis, Kerkyon and others.

But for the interchange of commodities between north and south, the sea, it is argued, would be an overwhelming competitor. On that point also Dr. Leaf is in conflict with M. Bérard, who seems to be right.[1] When considering the point, one must forget modern conditions. Dr. Leaf's illustration, in *BSA* xviii 308, from railways and steamers and their passengers, when ships almost prehistoric, beasts of burden, and goods are in question, is not a happy one. We must try to realize the conditions in Achaean Greece, helped, if possible, by our knowledge of a tract of a more recent world which may be said to reproduce them. Bérard is right in laying stress on the fear of promontories in those days.[2] All ancient literature testifies. But there is another point. From seaport to seaport water carriage might be preferred. But from inland site to inland site much will depend on the distances of these from the coast. The journeys to and from the sea will operate against navigation, especially if there is a dangerous headland to be negotiated and if there is a cheap land carriage. A trader sending goods from the middle of Boeotia to Mycenae, Tegea, Sparta or Pylos, would not choose the long sea-route round Sunium to Epidaurus or Nauplia, with two land journeys added, but would take the cheap route overland. And I maintain that it would be cheap, extraordinarily so. The conditions as to cultivation and waste, forest and pasture, water and tracks, which I venture to assume for the Greece of the Pelopidae[3]

[1] *Op. cit.* 170, *la voie de mer reste la plus coûteuse et la plus longue.* The usual reaction has set in against Bérard after the very enthusiastic reception accorded to his great book, and must be allowed to spend itself.

[2] It may no doubt be exaggerated. See Professor Myres in *The Geographical Aspects of Greek Colonization*, 55, on the 'graces' that made Aegean navigation 'easy' in the fair season. Of course, in a case in which there were alternative routes—as round the Euboean headlands or through the Euripus—the capes would always be avoided.

[3] There is not much on this point to be found in the books. But I do not think that the most liberal estimate of pre-Homeric civilization will insist that the pressure of population had caused an absorption of cultivable land to such an extent that pasture and forest were not still abundant. Reference may be made on the subject of cultivation generally to Pohlmann, *Die Feldgemeinschaft bei Homer*; Günther *Der Ackerbau bei Homer;* Ridgeway in *JHS* vi 319 ff.; and the handbooks of Buchholz and Seymour. But they contain little that is useful for present purposes.

obtained in the wilder parts of India till comparatively recent times, indeed within my own experience in the west. The carrying trade in such parts was in the hands of Vanjāris ('Forest-traversers') and other gipsy tribes, who owned large numbers of bullocks, buffaloes, ponies and asses. The cost of upkeep was practically nil, for one man sufficed to look after many animals, and feeding cost nothing or very little, as pasture in forest or other uncultivated ground was everywhere available, and it was free. And transit duties, levied by every blackmailer who had the opportunity, did not stop this traffic. For one thing, payment of such mail always ensured a certain amount of protection, and, for another, the levying cateran was careful not to kill trade by excessive demands on it. The 'firecarriage' and the 'fire-ship' have killed or are killing it now, but anyone who has known intimately a bit of old India, and there are such bits still, or were forty years ago, is helped to understand, what puzzles so many, the existence of great trade-routes across Europe in pre-historic times, when conditions prevailed which at first sight would seem to render the safe transport of property impossible.

To sum up, the possession of Mycenae and Corinth, both of which the Cataloguer assigns to Agamemnon, gave that potentate command of two great trade-routes, and explains most satisfactorily his richness in gold.

THE MILITARY ROADS OF AGAMEMNON

CR XXXII (1918)

EVIDENCE for the kingship of Agamemnon over the whole of Greece is found in the existence of what are called military roads. Remains of roads have been discovered in the vicinity of Mycenae, but Dr. Leaf, admitting that it involves passing beyond the actual evidence into inference, argues for a 'system' of such roads leading to the more distant parts of Greece (*H and H* 224 n). That, he thinks, need not

surprise us, seeing that such highroads are really a necessity of central government.

The remains are described in the works of Schliemann, Schuchhardt and others. There are traces of three roads leading north to the Isthmus, and of one leading south to Tiryns. But there seems to be no ground for saying they extended beyond the Isthmus. The remains—of paved roadway, culverts, and protecting fortifications—are of the 'Cyclopean' kind. If there were such roads outside the Peloponnesus, some traces must surely have survived, but no reference is quoted, even from classical authors.

A system of roads of such calibre, so to speak, could hardly have escaped notice. A Cyclopean highway along the Isthmus past the Scironian Rocks must have been famous. Nor is it stated that made roads for chariots were found to be a necessity in any of the other ancient empires, as Assyria and Egypt, in which this particular machine was used in warfare. On the other hand, that such roads were not a necessity to an ancient empire is clearly shown from India. It has been said, and there is no reason to question the assertion, that Moghuls and Maráthas alike never had a mile of made road away from their capitals, nor had their early predecessors who, like Agamemnon, used war chariots. And again, it must not be forgotten that a system of roads converging on Mycenae would constitute a danger to its rulers. It would help, and even suggest and invite, a coalition against the central power, the wealth of which, in times when the hand of every tribe or state was against its neighbour, would of itself tempt those of inferior status and resources. I read in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1917, p. 377, that it was the great roads which Rome constructed across the Brenner that proved her undoing by facilitating the passage of the barbarian hordes from the north. And again, Agamemnon, if Emperor of Greece, would have had in his fleet, which could have landed troops at any of the good harbours on the northern shores of the Gulf of Corinth, a simpler means than by the long détour by land through the Megarid and Boeotia of reaching unruly subordinates in central or northern Greece, or of hampering or cutting the communications of an invading force.

We must conclude that the roads were for a merely

local purpose, and the one which we can conjecture consists with Bérard's theory. The roads were made to help traffic from the southern and eastern seas through the mountains to the Gulf of Corinth and the western seas beyond, and we may see in the fact that three led north from Mycenae, an indication of the extent of the trade. One roadway would suffice in the plain, where the passing of animals going in opposite directions would be a simple matter. It would be different in the hills, as any one can understand who has had experience of mountain tracks regularly used by strings of pack bullocks. Cp. p. 58 of *RGE*[2].

EXTRACT FROM A REVIEW IN *CW* XVII [1923] OF MR. ALLEN'S 'THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE OF SHIPS'

The copious writings on the subject that were published last century relied on a system of criticism that has little vogue now, and has been recently abjured by Dr. Leaf himself. There were, of course, arguments special to the *Catalogue*, such as the prominence given to the Boeotians, the suspicion that as a Catalogue it must be Hesiodic, the inappropriateness of the phraseology to a marshalling of the forces at Troy, and so forth, and it must be admitted that the attack, conforming to the then spirit of Homeric inquiry, met with considerable success. Even some Unitarians agreed or doubted. But there were always a few, and these scholars of repute, such as Mure, Freeman, Monro, and Andrew Lang, who questioned the critical method employed, and refused to admit that the *Catalogue* was late and spurious.

The discussion was raised to a higher plane by Mr. Allen's papers. In these he used the results of recent archaeology and the growing interest in the topology of ancient Greece, and strongly reinforced the view that the *Catalogue* was genuine ancientry. That view also received strong support from a notable paper, *The Distribution of Mycenaean*

Remains and the Homeric Catalogue, by Mr. M. S. Thompson, in *LAA* iv (1911), 128 ff., which exhibited a close correspondence between the Greece of the *Catalogue* and the Mycenaean world as restored by archaeological exploration, and I call particular attention to it because no account of it was taken in *H and H* or by any of the reviews of that book that I have seen. The conservative view was further upheld by Mr. Wace, the present Director of the British School at Athens, whose knowledge of the conditions of prehistoric Greece is wide and minute, in *CGS*[3] 27, where he maintained that the traditional materials on which the Homeric list was compiled have their origin as far back as 1200 B.C. Professor Ridgeway, in *The Early Age of Greece* in 633, was another authority who broke away from the old attitude of dissecting scholarship. And, in short, there was a strong reaction against it.

Mr. Allen's present volume repeats, and develops and strengthens, his original view, and is a direct reply to Dr. Leaf, whose books, *Troy* and *H and H*, were published in 1912 and 1915 respectively. In the former, founding on a careful personal examination of the Troad, its author pronounced the Trojan Catalogue to be good old stuff, and his demonstration has been generally accepted. In his later work, however, he came to a very different conclusion regarding the Achaean list. If with his right hand he had exalted the Troas, with his left he now cast down the Achaeis of the *Catalogue*. But this, it may be noted here, was a remarkable change of front. In his first edition of the *Iliad* (1886) page 37, he thought, in spite of several difficulties, that the Achaean part was old, 'compiled in Achaean times, and carried with the emigrants to the coast of Asia Minor,' and in his *Companion to the Iliad* (1892), 79 f., he was of the same opinion. 'The Catalogue cannot be of late origin.' It is 'very ancient' and 'a real gazetteer of Achaean Greece,' which had 'at the very beginning of Greek history obtained a 'canonical value.' But in his second edition (1900), 86-87, he receded from this position, and held that the document 'originally formed an introduction to the Epic Cycle, and was composed for that portion of it which, as worked up into a separate poem, was called the Kypria . . .' In *H and H* he went further. The Achaean Catalogue is now, in Dr.

Leaf's view, a fraud perpetrated by some graceless inhabitant of historical Greece, who flourished in the age of the Logographers and invented Mycenaean conditions of his own for the purpose of his forgery. He broke up the big kingdoms which Dr. Leaf reconstructs from Homer outside the *Catalogue*, and redistributed the areas, his objects, as stated by his creator, being to legitimate the old tribal system of Greece, and to give later Greece a share in the *Troica*, the glory of which originally belonged to the Achaeans alone.

In regard to this latest theory there are initial difficulties which must raise a doubt in many minds as to its soundness. It is not easy to see how this determined fabricator, flouting the tradition and working on the basis of the political conditions of his own day, could make a *Catalogue* which proves to be a close reproduction of the old and forgotten Mycenaean world; how his fabrication at once obtained canonical authority as 'the Domesday Book of Ancient Greece;' how he was able to fake it into the *Iliad*; how, considering the great purpose he had, he came to fake it in with no better introduction than *B* 362 ff.; how this radical redistribution of ancient glories could be made at so late a date without any trace in literature; how Athens, for example, or Ionia could be satisfied, without loud protest, with their poor portions in the new enumeration; and, above all, in whose interest this was done—for surely it was not done for the mere amusement of the forger.

The initial doubt is greatly strengthened when the demonstration is examined in detail, for almost every proposition in it invites contradiction by its sheer novelty. I have myself dealt with most of them. . . .

I cannot of course repeat the examination of Dr. Leaf's theory here, but I will collect the principal points in it, for, when one merely surveys the various propositions which are essential to it, one feels that success with such a hypothesis is more than any scholar can possibly expect. It accepts Dörpfeld's Leukas-Ithaca notion. It involves the impossibility of the existence of a Mycenaean Corinth—a point to which I shall return—and embodies views of the climate and the agriculture of the Corinthia which I ventured to think, and which Mr. Carl Blegen of the American School at Athens has shown, are quite mistaken. It requires that

Agamemnon be accepted as Emperor of all Greece and the islands, which simply cannot be proved; I have argued that the Homeric passages prove that he was not. As a help to the conclusion it is suggested that the Emperor had made or succeeded to a system of military roads throughout Continental Greece, but it is admitted there is no evidence of their existence. Even the war between Argos and Thebes, which Dr. Leaf accepts as historical, implies for those principalities a measure of independence which is inconsistent with the supreme dominion of Mycenae. Argolis, we are to believe, was always for political purposes an inland territory like Arcadia, with its only communications by land. Diomede is no king, and his position and character are not what they seem and have always been taken to be. The rulers of Mycenae, although holding the Isthmus and able to strike an invader on the flank or in the rear by sending troops in ships across the Gulf, are said to have been in terror of the North. The gathering-place of the Achaeans was Lemnos, not Aulis. The terrors of the Euripus were all but prohibitive of navigation through it. Physical conditions in Greece three thousands years ago are assumed too lightly to have been much what they are to-day. Principles of a novel nature, and quite unacceptable, are formulated, as that a fleet, to be of use, must be kept together; that two hostile strongholds could not exist on opposite sides of a great plain area; and that an impregnable fortress must have a deadening effect on the views and the ambitions of its owners. There is a most disputable statement of the comparative advantages of land and sea carriage. Commerce by way of the Isthmus is reduced to a minimum; it is interesting to contrast Mr. Blegen's conclusions as to active trade between North and South and between East and West (see *AMJA* xxiv [1920] i ff., and my note, *Prehistoric Corinth*, *CR* xxxvi [1922] 195).[1] The tradition is rejected not only in regard to Ithaka and Corinth, but also as regards Taphos and Corcyra. One passage in Homer has to be rejected altogether without reason, another must be rearranged. I am quite at a loss to understand how the reviewers could accept these most debatable propositions, and welcome the new theory which is based on them.

[1]See now pp. 175 ff. *post*.

I find no such difficulty with Mr. Allen's reply. His method is to examine most carefully the passages in the *Catalogue* relating to the various nations or tribes, one by one, and to weigh all available evidence impartially. He has ransacked Greek and Roman literature of every age to obtain this evidence, and frequently supplements it by illustrations and analogies from other countries. He relies on archaeological results and geographical facts, and avoids speculation and rash inferences. And he closes every round, so to speak, with a knock-out blow in the shape of the query, *Cui bono?* If the account of any nation is an invention, in whose interest was the forgery perpetrated? That is a question that has to be answered in every case, and in the great majority of the entries in the *Catalogue* no answer is forthcoming. Altogether, Mr. Allen's book is a most satisfactory one. There are points in it, of course, regarding which an individual reviewer will differ. For example, many will prefer Mr. Frank Brewster's elucidation, in *HS* xxxi (1920) 125-166, of the Odyssean passage regarding the position of Ithaka. But all will find, I think, Mr. Allen's method and his appreciation of the available evidence unimpeachable.

In illustration of the two modes of procedure, the case of Thessaly may be taken. We have first Dr. Leaf's rapid sketch of his new view, not apparently backed by any personal acquaintance with the terrain, and starting from unwarranted assumptions, as specified in the paper in *CR* xxx (1916) 184-186. Mr. Allen relies on a statement, quoted on pages 139-140 of his book, by Mr. Wace, who speaks after personal exploration and minute knowledge of the country, and who gives these conclusions: ' . . . a review of the Homeric geography of Thessaly impresses us with a great sense of its reality.' 'The baronies of the Catalogue are the natural divisions of the country.' 'This is a perfectly sane and intelligible division of Thessaly.' In their work *Preh. Thess.* (1912), 254, Mr. Wace and his collaborator, Mr. Thompson, commend Mr. Allen's treatment and add that 'the views of Niese,' the author of the principal of the early attacks on the *Catalogue*, 'on the Thessalian section of the Catalogue imply that its author was a fool.' I have myself heard Mr. Wace, in a lecture given in St. Andrews, identify one after another of the Thessalian sites.

M. Sartiaux's *Troie* (1915) 166 f., may also be referred to as regards such identifications and the correspondence of the frontier in the *Catalogue* with that ascertained by archaeological inquiry. But, besides the support from archaeology, we have Mr. Allen's own examination of the geographical and political conditions of Thessaly, with references to all periods, and which ends (141) with the usual demand for a motive on the part of the supposed forger. In whose interest was the forgery? I quote Mr. Allen again (141): 'That they [the people of prehistoric Thessaly] did not forge the Catalogue is obvious—they fought against it.' That the Larissaeans or Pharsalians left Achilles at Trachis 'shows they found the Catalogue intangible.' Whom are we to follow? The materials for a decision are now abundant, and any one can judge for himself. But let it be borne in mind, by any one who is disposed to the view that the *Catalogue's* distribution of the Thessalian area is unreal, that he has to argue against scholars with unrivalled knowledge of all the local conditions.

To complete this account of the controversy it is necessary to mention Dr. Leaf's paper, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, in *CR* xxxvi (1922) 52-57. I need, however, refer to only one point in it, the question whether Corinth, that is, the site of classical Corinth, was occupied in Mycenaean times. Dr. Leaf's views on that point, published in *H and H*, were expressly refuted by Mr. Blegen in *AMJA* xxiv (1920) 1 ff., but in Dr. Leaf's article Mr. Blegen's essay is not mentioned. Dr. Leaf cannot have seen it.[1] He would have learned from it that the reason why a number of sites in the vicinity of Corinth have not, as he says, yielded Mycenaean remains, is that they have not yet been excavated! He would also have seen that Mr. Blegen has shown that there was effective Mycenaean occupation of the Corinthia, and that there was active commerce, by way of the Isthmus, between North and South and between East and West. Mr. Blegen's picture of the Corinthia in Mycenaean times is complete and instructive, and his essay is of the first importance in the controversy, as Dr. Leaf makes a cardinal point of the non-existence of a Mycenaean Corinth.

[1]He had not, but in a note in *CR* xxxvii (1923), p. 65, written after he had seen it, he says he does not alter his position.

So the matter stands. It is now the turn of Dr. Leaf and his followers. We await their reply to Mr. Allen, just as we are waiting for a statement from the Leukadists on Dörpfeld's theory. Not that we expect anything new from the latter; their facts and arguments seem all to have been presented, and they fail to convince. On the *Catalogue*, too, as a whole the materials for a decision are available, and it is for those who still maintain its spuriousness to make the next move. The Unitarian regards Mr. Allen's book and Mr. Thompson's paper as of the very greatest value to his cause. They prove that the world of which the poet wrote was a real world, and that the gazetteer of Greece which he embodied in the *Iliad* is a genuine and accurate description. If there are discrepancies between it and the rest of the poem, we must bear in mind what Mr. Allen says (117), that '. . . though the Catalogue is a precise document the statements that can be gathered from the body of the poem are capricious, and depend on the events the poet chooses we shall hear told.' That is a consideration of a kind that the criticism of the ninteenth century took little account of.

DR. WALTER LEAF'S 'HOMER AND HISTORY' AND THE CATALOGUE OF SHIPS

CW XXIV (1931)

In a review of Mr. T. W. Allen's Book, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, in *CW* xvii I mentioned some theses in *H and H* which were hard to accept, and I referred to papers in which most of them had been carefully examined and rejected. To complete the case against these novelties three points have to be added. The first is a consideration of the startling Taphos-Corfu equation. That was dealt with in my review of *H and H* in *CR* xxx (1916) 82 f. Next, the strong affirmation in *H and H* (209-220) that there was no Mycenaean Corinth was the subject of correspondence

between Dr. Leaf and myself in *CR* xxxviii, which ended with my paper 'Mycenaean Corinth' in the same journal (1924), 65-68'[1] Mainly on the high authority of Dr. Carl Blegen, Dr. Leaf's proposition was found untenable. The third, Dr. Leaf's new view of Diomede and his realm, I propose to discuss now. I shall add some general remarks on recent writings about the problems connected with the *Catalogue of the Ships*.

In presenting his case for Agamemnon's Panachaean dominion, Dr. Leaf gives us (223) a picture of Agamemnon's realm as he conceives it. First, he shows by map and compasses that Mycenae is fairly central in continental Greece. This fact is interesting, but of no practical importance, unless centrality of the capital is essential for the government of an empire. It has not generally been so regarded; empires usually grow, and seldom become exactly or approximately circular. Next, it is pointed out that the chiefs of Agamemnon's day can be grouped into an inner circle, an intermediate ring, and an outer ring consisting largely of the islands, which are of necessity in looser connection with the seat of government. But this does not help; the scheme is in fact little more than a fancy. Two questions still remain: Was there a government? If so, what was the nature of its dominion over the Achaean chiefs? On that point I may refer to my paper, 'The Kingship of Agamemnon,' in *CQ* xi (1917), 146-153. There is no evidence, and no ground whatever for supposing that Agamemnon had his garrisons throughout the country, and representatives who collected the revenue or saw to the regular transmission of tribute. He may have had a shadowy suzerainty in the Peloponnesus; we cannot say. His brother ruled Laconia, and he himself could dispose of territory in what was afterwards Messenia. But it does not appear that Nestor acted as Warden of the Marches. He is but a faithful ally at Troy, like the rest.

For Argolis Dr. Leaf goes into detail (232-235) His 'Cataloguer' makes Diomede king of that state, but Diomede, it is argued by Dr. Leaf (235), 'is no King,' and 'his kingdom is no kingdom . . .' He is 'essentially a retainer with no status of his own . . .' (234), and his colleague Sthenelus and he are among the most obedient and faithful of Agamem-

[1] See now pp. 175 ff. *post*.

non's men. This is how Diomede is said by Dr. Leaf to appear in 'Homer,' that is, in Homer outside the *Catalogue*. According to Dr. Leaf, the Cataloguer, violating all the proprieties, and intent only on his work of dismemberment, makes Diomede a king with a capital at Argos, and with a finer domain than Agamemnon himself possessed. The latter point I considered fully in a paper in *CR* xxxii (1918), 3-7.

Dr. Leaf, intent on securing an imperial position for Agamemnon, degrades Diomede on the strength of *Ξ* 110-127. He regards Diomede's speech there as the utterance of a man who cannot, without an apology, venture to rank himself, even after the appeal of Agamemnon, with those who are really kings. That is surely to read into the speech what one desires to find in it. The purpose of Diomede's account of his descent is just as he himself describes it. Agamemnon is in one of his fits of despair, and wants to scuttle home. Odysseus rebukes his chief in the very strongest terms. 'The mean mind in authority' yields at once, and piteously calls for some better plan. Diomede, associated now, as elsewhere, with Odysseus, answers Agamemnon's call for some one to speak. It is no wonder that he begins with an explanation. But he does not begin with an 'apology'; far from it. A few days before he had been called by Agamemnon on the field of battle a skulking coward, and had been told that he was 'far inferior to his sire.' Still more recently he had been reminded, on two separate occasions, of his extreme youthfulness by the *trisaeclisenex* of the camp, Nestor, ever ready to inculcate the superiority of age in council. So Diomede, naturally of a diffident disposition, now hesitates to interpose, but all the same he is determined that the great enterprise shall not be brought to nought by the pusillanimity of his superior. He will speak his mind, as is his wont, but, with previous treatment still rankling, he takes care to make good his right to speak, and to anticipate any fresh objection to his intervention. His youth he need not dilate on, for Agamemnon practically invites him to speak, though he is *νέος* (108). Nor need he refer to his capacity in the field; his deeds of the previous day, recounted in *E*, *Θ* and *K*, speak for themselves; compare also *I* 35-36. There remains his position as a chief; on that he insists. 'Ye shall not by saying I am by my lineage coward and

poltroon despise the advice I may give,' he declares (*Ξ* 126-127). So the poet, ready, as often, to give his hearers or readers a hero's descent, puts in Diomede's mouth an account of Tydeus which would be welcome to them but to Dr. Leaf, in his Introduction to *Ξ* in his *Iliad* (second edition: ii 63), is a 'long and untimely family history . . .,' and, in his note on *Ξ* 114, 'no doubt an interpolation of the genealogical school connected with the name of Hesiod . . .' In this way did Dr. Leaf, in an otherwise splendid edition of the *Iliad*, reduce the poem to fragments by methods which he afterwards formally abjured.

We do not in these days so readily reject the 'family histories' in the Homeric poems. How very different is the treatment given to them in Professor Myres's great work '*Who were the Greeks?*' The family history with which we are here concerned tells how Tydeus—of whom more will be said presently—was a great spearman, acquired wealth, and married the daughter of the King of Argos, and so gives us the best reasons for his admission to the royal family. His son is his successor in the kingship. He is peer of the King of Mycenae, and as such takes it upon himself to rebuke contemptible weakness even when it is exhibited by the Generalissimo. Diomede is a hero whose modesty—he hesitates to speak in council and does so only ὄψε—has always been commended as, after his bravery in the field, his most noteworthy quality. Of the speech we are considering Dr. Leaf's opinion (234) is that, if it be not 'gross and patent affectation . . .,' it is an apology. Affectation is the last weakness to be ascribed to Diomede, and anything less like an apology than this speech in *Ξ* 110-127 it is difficult to imagine. A hypothesis is not to be established by such a travesty combined with a jeer at one of Homer's 'family histories.'

But, further, we are asked to conclude on the Homeric evidence that Diomede and Sthenelus are unsurpassed as obedient and faithful retainers, or 'men,' of Agamemnon. That we cannot do. One has only to read the bitter reproofs administered to Agamemnon by Sthenelus in the *Epipolesis*, *Δ* 404-10, and by Diomede early in *I* (32-49), and to reflect whether the language is that of subordinates or of chiefs leagued for the fight at Troy, but still independent in their

sovereignty. The two Argive leaders are loyal, and to that extent 'obedient,' but they are not obedient to the point of allowing the expedition to fail through folly and cowardice. They know how to make allowance for a sorely tried and poorly gifted superior, but they brook no imputation from him, and will not be associated with him in his pusillanimity. Most readers of the *Iliad* will, I feel sure, agree with Seymour, *Life*, 87, that 'nothing indicates any special subordination on his (Diomede's) part to the king of Mycenae . . .' Diomede is at Troy to help as an ally, but he knows how to assert his position as a chief. It is true that he is not in the *Iliad* called King of Argos, but, as has often been remarked, much is taken for granted in the *Iliad* as known to hearers or readers. I believe I am correct in saying that outside the *Catalogue* Odysseus is nowhere in the *Iliad*, not even in *Γ* 201, described as King of Ithaka. Similar things can be said of other chiefs.

There is yet another point. Dr. Leaf is ready to accept a historical background for the War of the Seven against Thebes. On pages 226-228 he pictures the Agamemnon of the day as sitting fast in Mycenae, and filled with ἐπιχαιρεκακία—as he was at a similar spectacle *Θ* 77 f., and Zeus himself *Φ* 389 f.—as he watched the two powers, 'his rivals on either side cutting one another's throats . . .' hoping for the weakening of both, and muttering no doubt, the Minoan equivalent of *divide ut imperes*. The historical kernel may be real enough, and there is something Machiavellian in *I* 380, but inferences suggest themselves which Dr. Leaf does not seem to contemplate. That Argos and Thebes could go to war with each other would imply a measure of independence in these principalities not compatible with a Mycenaean empire over Greece in the generation before the *Troica*. The same independence is suggested in the Argives' request to Mycenae to assist them. They ask (*Δ* 379) for κλειτοὶ ἐπίκουροι; that is the description regularly used in the *Iliad* of allies on the Trojan side who are quite independent of Priam. 'Homer' here confirms the 'Cataloguer.' Again, that Adrastus was King of Argos admits of no doubt. When, then, his own son fell among the *Epigoni*, the kingdom would naturally pass, since Tydeus had predeceased Adrastus, to Diomede, who had married the king's

daughter. Dr. Leaf describes (234) Tydeus as 'a broken man,' but it is clear that he had mended himself and had made a position for himself in Argos, when he was chosen to take a leading part in the Expedition against Thebes. Bellerophon's case is similar. When he had proved himself he received the king's daughter in marriage and a τέμενος, and he was admitted as a member of the reigning house. Just so with Tydeus. Dr. Leaf himself, in his note on Ξ122, draws the inference. There is no reference there to Tydeus's broken condition. Such changes in dynasties were evidently not infrequent in prehistoric Greece, where many of the kingships, as those of Pylos, Sparta, and Aetolia, were not of long standing. They reflect the unsettled condition of the land for some time before the Trojan War.

As regards the royal seat of Tydeus and Diomede, the town of Argos with its 'impregnable citadel' of Larisa, Dr. Leaf essays to prove (206-208) that it was always a mere town, 'and not, in the military sense at least, . . .' a capital with any command over the plain. This he tries to do by predicating (206) of such citadels that they 'are not imperial but municipal. They induce a sense of reliance on passive defence which is fatal to striking power. . .' It was thus (206-207) that Athens 'came down to the plain . . .' from the Acropolis 'to defend herself by the Long Walls and the Peiraeus . . .,' and that Knossos and Sparta consciously based their strength on open towns. Similarly, says Dr. Leaf (207), Tiryns and Troy were on low hillocks, not on unassailable rocks, though, really, on this view one must remark that the founders of these two settlements, or whatever we are to call them, did not disdain to do their utmost to make them impregnable. The remains of their walls are good evidence of that.

Mycenae, of course, must be, on Dr. Leaf's theory, an exception. That fortress and the impregnable Acrocorinthus did not induce a passive attitude on the part of their possessors, who, we are asked to believe, thought imperially and so were led to extend their dominion in Greece and even in distant islands. I recalled at once, as I read Dr. Leaf's statement, another striking exception. I lived for some years in India within sight of an impregnable hill-fort from which a humble Marátha chief, who refused to think municipally,

founded an empire that spread over India, east and north and south. So, whatever the scientific historian may think of it, it seems to me that Dr. Leaf's view is a hasty and unacceptable generalization. I even venture to question the ancient examples on which it is based. Troy and Tiryns perhaps selected their low hillocks because higher situations were either not near enough or were too close to the sea. Athens and Knossos had fleets. The former did not abandon the Acropolis at an early period of her history. In Sparta's case there is the old explanation that a city's strength is the spirit of its citizens, not its walls.

Of the Argolid it is said by Dr. Leaf (203) that it 'has always been for political purposes, almost as much an inland country as Arcadia; its only communications have been by land. And the important centres of population and military force have been chosen for the sake of these communications. There are three of them—Tiryns, Mykene, and Argos itself.' Tiryns, it is admitted, had an obvious relation with the sea; it covered Nauplia. But Dr. Leaf fancies it would have been enough for that purpose to fortify the Palamidi. Tiryns was built (204) to command 'the road to Epidaurus, and with it all the approaches to the Argolic peninsula from the south-east.' On that side the Akté had good harbours. Trade came from them to the Argolid, not by Nauplia. In *CR* xxxii (1918) 7, I have discussed these roads across the mountains. Except for one from Epidaurus, the literature of the subject seems to give no ground for believing in their existence, or that the ports of the Akté displaced Nauplia. It is said by Dr. Leaf on page 201 that Nauplia must have been unfavourable to navigation, because—at the present day—it has a shelving shore. But that does not prevent it from being a busy port. Steamers have to lie outside, their cargoes being sent ashore in boats or barges, but Mycenaean ships, probably not larger than these boats and barges, would be equally able to use the shore. Moreover it may be said with confidence that conditions were not, three thousand years ago, what they are now. The silt deposited in that long period must have affected the coast seriously. In short, Dr. Leaf's speculations do not impair the validity of the view hitherto accepted by the authorities, that Nauplia was the port of Argolis from the earliest times.

It is true that he devises a chronological scheme to show that from about 1200 B.C. to 1200 A.D. Nauplia was insignificant. The classical data are said to be few, and are easily disposed of, though Strabo's reference (viii, 6), to the port as a *ναύσταθμον* is not to be dismissed with the remark that it can hardly have been this at any time, and in Strabo's time must have been decaying, seeing that Pausanias (ii 38, 2) found it in ruins, for two centuries intervened between the periods of these writers. Nor does it appear how the date 1200 B.C., which is convenient as being just before Agamemnon's day, is fixed. For all the facts that are adduced, 1100 or 1000 B.C. would seem to suit equally well. Even Temenion is proscribed (200) but the way to condemnation is hard. The Argives once, it is said, set about connecting it with Argos by long walls. The Athenians had suggested this; the Spartans stopped it. Surely the obvious inference is that at Temenion there *was* a site for a good naval station. So it has to be added (200) that 'probably the Spartan invasion counted for less than the inherent difficulties of the task . . .' Probably, it might be replied, the Athenians and the Argives had taken the trouble to ascertain that the difficulties could be overcome. That there was a port here at one time is shown by the remains of an ancient mole. If the place was useless, it is strange that the Dorians, when they appeared, seized and fortified it. So we may, it seems, keep the old belief that Nauplia was in Agamemnon's day, as it still is, the port of Argolis, and that the district was no more an inland country than Attica was.

But further, and still as regards Argolis, there is the proposition (205-206) that Mycenae was fortified because a change had taken place in the position of the Minoan settlers in the Argolic plain. As time advanced, Crete became of secondary interest to them, and communications with the south-east were no longer a matter of concern. But there is now, says Dr. Leaf, a new power in the north, that has also come from out the sunrise, in Orchomenos and Thebes, and (205) the southern settlers' 'dominant thought is to keep open their connexion, by way of the isthmus, with northern Greece . . .' This is propounded as a possibility, and such of course it is. But it hardly seems a probable view. Why leave the valued communication to be cut at the Isthmus? On the

other hand, if it was a descent from the north that the ruling power in the north-east of the Peloponnesus feared, it would surely not commence its defence so far south as Mycenae, for Mycenae did not command all the passes into the southern Peloponnesus. There was a road to Argos from Corinth past Tenea. The power in question would block the easily fortified Isthmus, and could then, in comparative security, strike at the invaders' communications, or even at their capitals, by landing a force on the northern shore of the Gulf. The Peloponnesus was easily defended against intruders from the north. Bérard's view that Mycenae was what the Turks called a *dervendji*, a castle built to command a *dervend* or defile through mountains, in order to compel a revenue from the passing traffic, is simpler and has much to commend it. If there was traffic past Mycenae, such an opportunity for 'making the foreigner pay' would be as attractive as it is to some modern minds, and the fortified toll-house would be established as a matter of course.

The result of our investigation seems to be that we cannot accept this quite new view of Diomede and his realm any more than we can the other novelties in the chapters of *H and H* now under consideration. *Peccavit fortiter* must be the conclusion. No one, so far as I am aware, has entered the lists to defend them, and *H and H*—in so far, I am careful to add, as it relates to the Homeric geography, local and political—must, I submit, be classed with the works of those whom Eustathius describes as τοὺς βιαζομένους Ὅμηρον. Readers of it must be on their guard against being misled by its positive tone, reinforced by a conspicuously clear and attractive style.

Now all these discoveries are made by Dr. Leaf to discredit the *Catalogue*, to prove its late origin, and to expose and crush the knave who concocted it. In the review in *CW* xvii 21, I gave some general considerations which militate against the new theory. With the failure of all the supports discovered by Dr. Leaf I think we may preserve our belief in the genuineness of the document.

* * * * *

Against Mr. Allen's demonstration, on the contrary, little has been, or can, I think, be urged. Professor Carl D. Buck, in *CP* xxi 19, note 2, thinks that 'Allen . . . has

shown convincingly that the *Catalogue* is an important geographical survey of pre-Doric Greece.' The late Professor J. B. Bury, who was one of the reviewers who were loud in their praises of *H and H*, and who went so far as to say (*QR*, No. 448 (1916) 14) that, after Dr. Leaf's 'merciless analysis' Unitarians would never be able to 'rehabilitate the *Catalogue*', must have reconsidered that judgment, for in *JHS* xlii (1922), 4, he accepts 'unreservedly Mr. Allen's convincing defence of Bunbury's equation Dulichium-Leukas,' and with that his belief in one of the principal positions in *H and H*, Dörpfeld's identification of the Homeric Ithaka with Leukas, must have gone by the board. Apparently his adherence to Dr. Leaf's *Catalogue* heresy also went, for in *CAH* ii 479 (1926), he says that for the beginning of the twelfth century 'we have in Homer's *Catalogue* the following picture of the political geography of Greece, and it is entirely different from anything we find at any later epoch.'

Professor Edward Fitch, however, in a review of Allen's work in *CP* xvii (1922) 147-150, is dissatisfied on certain points. It is not easy to agree with him that Mr. Allen's book gives almost no idea of the evidence that the *Catalogue* is a later and secondary document. That evidence we owe mostly to B. Niese, in his book, *Der Homerische Schiffskatalog als historische Quelle betrachtet*, but Niese, as A. Gemoll has shown, in *Der homerische Schiffskatalog*, 7, retracted much, and the remainder seems to be dealt with faithfully enough by Mr. Allen. But a full statement of such weaknesses as are believed to be present in Mr. Allen's proof would, with a view to the clearing of the issues that remain, be very welcome.

The main objection to the *Catalogue* used to be its want of agreement with the rest of the *Iliad*, but see Allen, 169, on that point, and especially the consideration urged on page 117, that it is 'a precise document,' while statements in the rest of the poem 'are capricious, and depend on the events the poet chooses we shall hear told . . .' There are authorities who on that ground have not had serious regard to such differences. Indeed there have always been those who regard them as quite trifling, as, at an early date, Theodor Bergk, in his *Griech. Litteraturgesch.* i 562-563, quoted by

Martin P. Nilsson in his article *Καπάπλοι* in *Rhein. Mus.* 1905, 169. Agreement must be considered as well as difference. There is, for instance, one very striking coincidence, the fact that in the *Catalogue* Odysseus comes exactly in the middle of the contingents enumerated, fifteenth among twenty-nine, while his ships are, according to *Θ* 22, *Λ* 5 (compare *Λ* 806-8), in the middle of the line.

Surely Professor Fitch's difficulty regarding the possibility of other than oral transmission, especially, it seems to me, in the case of a document of this character, a formal gazetteer, is one that diminishes in force with every year that passes. The same may be said of the doubt as to the value of the Homeric and other genealogies. Tradition or folk-memory is not now treated as valueless; it is regarded with respect, as having at least a nucleus of truth, large or small. In Professor Myres's work (see above) which is an encyclopedia of information about prehistoric Greece, a very different view is taken throughout. I need do no more than refer to pages 312-313, where Professor Myres contrasts his method with that of a form of inquiry that used to be, and still is to some extent, popular. He says that, before Schliemann's discoveries and the unearthing of the Hittite tablets (323), 'it was excusable that folk-memory so intimate and so detailed should be mistaken for poetic invention, and that the accord of the Catalogues with the Homeric narrative should be explained by learned compilation at some later date. But that phase of literary criticism is superseded, even in the present imperfect state of our historical and archaeological knowledge. . . .'

Regarding the unfavourable inferences that have been drawn from a supposed Boeotian connection of the *Catalogue*, it is hardly necessary to do more than refer to Allen's discussions, 42-45, 33, note, supplemented in his book, *Homer, The Origins and the Transmission*, 329. The difficulty caused by Thucydides i 12, and the reason—for a reason is required by some critics—why the poet, who had to begin *somewhere* in Greece, began with Boeotia, are there fully considered. For Aulis I refer to *CR* xxxi (1917) 7-9, 37-39. The idea that the 'Boeotia' is Boeotian because Catalogues were supposed to be specially Hesiodic, and Hesiod was a Boeotian, is really hardly more than a surmise. It has, in

this connection, struck me to inquire whether the ancients ascribed the *Catalogue* to Hesiod or his 'school.' I have searched for evidence of this, but have not discovered it, but I may have overlooked it. If there really is none, we may dismiss the notion.

Then there is the alleged connection with the *Cypria*. The *Cypria* had a Catalogue, which was distinctly stated (in the abstract of Proclus) to be *τῶν Τρωσὶ συμμαχησάντων*. Nothing was said of a Greek Catalogue, but the mention of the Trojan was enough; the Homeric Catalogue must, to its detriment, be connected somehow with the Cyprian Catalogue of the Trojan allies. There is no evidence that there was a Greek Catalogue in the *Cypria*; see Allen, 23, and Andrew Lang, *W of H* 218. But you can 'fairly suppose,' with Professor Gilbert Murray, *RGE*[3] 180, not only that there was a Greek Catalogue in the *Cypria* but that it was the Catalogue that we now have in the *Iliad*! The notion, which goes back to Niese and Gemoll, might by this time have been allowed to depart in peace, but W. Schmid has returned to it in *Philologus* lxxx (1925), and says (74-75), like Professor Murray, that there must have been a Greek Catalogue in the *Cypria*, though he makes the naïve confession that (as we should expect) 'its reconstruction'—the reconstruction of a document of which we know nothing!—'meets with great difficulties.' Meantime Bethe, *Homer*, ii 212, argues—Professor Bolling in his book *The External Evidence for Interpolations in Homer*, 77, says he has proved—that there was not even a Trojan Catalogue in the *Cypria*. So we are to argue for the presence in that poem of a Greek Catalogue that is mentioned by no one, and against the existence of the only Catalogue that is referred to by any authority. Having got a Greek Catalogue in the *Cypria*, we are to be persuaded that the Homeric Catalogue was based on it!

That, as regards composition, the *Catalogue* is alien to Homer in spirit and in style is one of those subjective judgments which are of little weight, and in the present case the very special nature of the subject-matter tends to render the objection nugatory. The late Mr. W. Warde Fowler, in *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, 61, found flatness in the Homeric Catalogue, and approved (34) Dr. James Henry's

description of it as, 'to say the best of it, a long dry table of statistical details. . . .' A certain amount of flatness is of course inseparable from a long statistical list, a list much longer than Vergil's, but to say that the *Catalogue* as a whole is flat seems to be a charge in the same uncharitable spirit that denies all interest to the Battle at the Ships in the *Iliad*, in utter disregard of the art with which Homer has diversified the narrative, and of the tastes of the audience or the public for which the poem was composed. By similar means Homer made poetry of the *Catalogue* when he incorporated it in his epic. Andrew Lang had no doubt on the point, and he was certainly well qualified to judge. He says (*W of H* 14) that the *Catalogue* 'is the work of a poet . . . to us there is poetry in the very names of "rocky Aulis" and "Mycalessus of the wide lawns." . . .' There is poetry, also, in the interludes with which the enumeration is studded: the challenge of Thamyris to the Muses; Tlepolemus fleeing, a wanderer over the sea, from the family feud; Philoctetes suffering in Lemnos and biding the day when the Argives will escort him in honour to Troy: Protesilaus leaving his newly-wed bride and disregarding her plaint, *bella gerant alii, Protesilaus amet*, only to be struck down as he leapt on the shore 'far the foremost of the Achaeans'; the great Achilles raging in his hut, and his Myrmidons sporting idly by the sea; the chastisement by Peirithous of 'the wild men of the mountain caves'; the points of the mares of Eumelus; the stories of Phyleus and Erechtheus and Astyoches; the wondrous water of 'lovely Titaresios'; and other similar touches. It is strange to hear a canto that includes all this, told in perfect Homeric verse, characterized as flat. Contrast what Eustathius says on *B* 492, in rebuke of those who 'despised' the *Catalogue* because there were so many 'names' in it: πεποίκιλται [ἡ Βοιωτία] ἱστορίαις τε καὶ τοπογραφίαις καὶ γενεαλογίαις καὶ ἑτέροις τοιούτοις. It is hard to see how any enumeration of contingents and leaders could be without names. It is easy to praise the Vergilian list and to belittle Homer's by comparison with it, but it should be borne in mind that Vergil had a simpler task then the older poet. For one thing, Vergil had only the central portion of the Italian mainland to celebrate; Homer had all Greece and the islands, and a Trojan list to draw up in addition. Had he

elaborated as Vergil did, the *Catalogue* could have been expanded to three times its present length. What a target for criticism such a bulky excrescence on an ideal *Iliad* would have been! In one respect the Homeric list is the better piece of work; it does not, as Mr. Glover (*Virgil*, 116) says of the enumeration in the *Aeneid*, 'forget geography' and 'tangle up' localities.

Again, be it remembered that the Latin poet wrote for a cultured audience that expected ἱστορίαι that should glorify Rome and be on the whole *maius Iliade*, while Homer wrote for or sang to a simpler public, easier in its demands on its court poet than were the literary élite of Augustan Rome. Probably no poet before Homer had ever composed such a list, but once in existence the list lightened the task of every successor. Vergil imitates Homer as model in innumerable passages. He could even improve on his model, and the result for the Vergilian Catalogue is a beautiful idyll which no man may justly disparage, for Vergil had at his command all the poetical artifices and developments of a thousand years. The great excellence of the Vergilian list need not blind us to the simple beauty of the list composed *in iuventute mundi*.[1]

As regards the language of the *Catalogue* it has still to be proved that this indicates lateness. There have been mutterings, of course, but no full statement, about the matter. We need hardly expect one; the investigations for the *Doloneia*, the 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey*, and other scandalously 'late' tracts have not been encouraging. For the outstanding linguistic test, the digamma, as applied to the *Catalogue*, I refer to *L of D* 100-103. Other tests may be applied, but I feel convinced on my own examination that they will produce nothing. Some satisfy themselves of the lateness of the *Catalogue* by showing its affinity with other late parts of the poems, but lateness is not so readily accepted in these days. The *Catalogue* is one of the parts of the *Iliad* that used to be classed as 'Odyssean,' but of this Odysseanism, once regarded as incontrovertible, nothing has been heard in recent years. Indeed, linguistic proof seems to have fallen on evil times, though opportunities for the offering

[1]Mr. Warde-Gery in his paper on the Dorians in *CAH* ii describes the *Catalogue* as a 'surprisingly great poem.'

of such proof (if it exists) are as many as ever. Wilamowitz and Bethe and others break up and reconstruct the poems, and assign the parts to different ages, but strangely, as it seems to some, do not attempt to secure confirmation from the language.

There are those who see ancientry written large on the *Catalogue*. The very simplicity of the document, an unpretentious list, even 'flat,' if you please, varied only by touches of tradition and local colour and interest that would certainly appeal to primitive hearers or readers, is surely *prima facie* evidence of an early origin, and unfavourable to the theory that it was manufactured in a late and comparatively literary age. *Ἁπλοϊκοὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*, as I said in *CR* xxx 81. The argument of Freeman (*Historical Geography*, 26), frequently quoted, that the Greece of the *Catalogue* is so different from the Greece of any later time that it is inconceivable that it can have been invented at any later time, and that no motive can be imagined for its invention at any later time, is hard to meet. See D. B. Monro's well-known paper, 'Homer and the Early History of Greece,' in the *Historical Review* i (1888), 47 and Allen, 19. To Monro (49) 'the Catalogue must be based on a real map, and on recollections of a real though possibly short-lived empire.' For reasons in detail reference may be made to his edition of the *Iliad* i 269-270. I may mention a few of the principal points. There is the omission of Thebes, of which Hayman, in his edition of the *Odyssey* (ii xc-xci), says 'there is no one fact which speaks so incontestably in favour of the antiquity of the poem.' Compare Myres (as cited in note 2, above), 322. Add to this the frequently noted absence of reference to the Dorian irruption and the Olympic Games, the avoidance of later names such as Peloponnesus, Thessaly, Araethyrea (Phlius), and others listed by Monro in his *Iliad* i 270, and the inclusion of 'obscure places which had dwindled into insignificance, or whose very sites were unknown in later days' (Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, i 42). The entry of Rhodes has been to some a proof of lateness, but see Mr. Wade-Gery in *CAH* ii, 528-529, and even Dr. Leaf himself as to the possibilities (*Companion to the Iliad*, 80-81).

Finally, we have ample confirmation from archaeology of

the contents of the *Catalogue*. Our old document owes a debt to that striking paper by Mr. M. S. Thompson, already referred to, of which another leading archaeologist, Professor Myres, said it showed the 'very close' agreement that subsists between the distribution of the sites and the list of the allies of Agamemnon. It is of interest also to note that Dr. Leaf himself had once, with less material than Mr. Thompson to work on, expressed the same opinion. See pages xxix-xxx of the Introduction he wrote for the English translation of Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*. Another point emerged from Mr. Thompson's survey. The inclusion of some of the Aegean Islands and the exclusion of others, which had long attracted attention, was now easily interpreted in terms of archaeological discovery in the Aegean region. As Allen puts it (104) the *Catalogue* in this respect 'appears to accurately represent the extent to which Mycenaean influence had spread across the Aegean at the moment of the outbreak of the Trojan War. . . .' On this point also we can quote Dr. Leaf in his early days. In his *Companion to the Iliad*, 79-80, he regarded it as support to the belief that the *Catalogue* 'is a real gazetteer.' What its origin was it is impossible to say, but probability cannot be denied to Mr. Thompson's suggestion (135) that it 'seems to be in the first instance a national list of the Mycenaean dominions, and only incidentally a list of those who fought against Troy.' If we but knew what was the reason for preparing it originally, and the uses to which it was put in the years before Homer took it over for his great poem!

Mr. Thompson's paper should never be overlooked in the discussion of the *Catalogue*. It is, however, very seldom referred to by those who decry the document. The conclusion in it, which, as remarked above, was formerly Dr. Leaf's own, is not even mentioned in *H and H*, and the authors of such reviews of that work as I have seen do not appear to be aware of it. It does not appear in the *RGE*, although Professor Murray has much to say of Catalogues in general and the *Catalogue of the Ships* in particular. It is strange to find no mention of it in *H and H*, or in Mr. Allen's book (in the notes on pages 180, 202). M. Victor Bérard in his recent work, *Les Navigations d'Ulysse* i 100-102, has some remarks in disparagement of the *Catalogue*,

but does not discuss Mr. Thompson's paper, though it is duly entered in his Bibliography (75). M. Bérard finds interpolations in the *Catalogue*, but his methods of Homeric criticism I examined fully, and for reasons given I strongly disapproved, in a review of three of his works (*CW* xix 186-191).

The attitude of archaeologists towards the *Catalogue* is generally one of confidence and respect. I would refer to the passages listed under 'Catalogue, Homeric,' in the Index to Professor Myres's work. In these the *Catalogue* is referred to as 'a trustworthy document,' 'a real gazetteer' and one with 'historical significance.' Similar views, it will be found, are held by the expert contributors to the *CAH*. Mr. Wace is very strongly in favour of its genuineness. See *CW* xvii 21, and the reference given there to *CGS*[3] 27. Mr. Wace's pronouncements on Thessaly, one of the objects of Dr. Leaf's attack, are particularly valuable, for his acquaintance with the country is most intimate, as *Prehistoric Thessaly*, of which he was joint author with Mr. Thompson, proves. Allen (140) quotes from that work the statements that '. . . the baronies are the natural divisions of the country. . . .,' and that there is in the Catalogue 'a perfectly sane and intelligible division of Thessaly. . .' Can any one desire better evidence than this on behalf of the *Catalogue?*

Professor Murray differs most emphatically from the archaeologists. In *RGE*[3] 203 there is the amazing statement, 'Dr. Leaf has shown, in my judgment beyond the possibility of refutation, that the whole point of view of the *Catalogue* is very different from that of the *Iliad*. . . .' Beyond the possibility of refutation! Refutations on nearly every point of difference were published in the course of a few years after *H and H* appeared, but the only one, so far as I know, that Dr. Leaf noticed was the matter of Mycenaean Corinth, and Professor Murray will surely not say that he has succeeded against Dr. Blegen. We should dearly like to hear Professor Murray against Mr. Wace and in defence of Dr. Leaf's view of Thessaly. He chooses to ignore the refutations that are on record, but they are there, and their apparent effect is to shatter Dr. Leaf's scheme. At any rate, let them be answered. But, whether they are answered or not, we can

still say, as Andrew Lang said, reviewing the work of Messrs Wace and Thompson, in the *Morning Post* of July 18th, 1912, 'the archaeologists, almost universally, are backers against the grammarians of the prehistoric antiquity of the Catalogue.'

Since what precedes was written, a new work on Aegean prehistory has been published: A. R. Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks, B.C.* 1400-900. I am glad to be able to quote as follows from page 10: '. . . The Catalogue, both that of the Greek ships and that of the Trojan Allies, has all the appearance of being a genuine document, dating from before the Dorian invasion and the Ionian migration. . .'

MYCENAEAN CORINTH

CR XXXVIII (1924)

In his last statement on this subject—in *CR* xxxvii 65 f.—Dr. Leaf finds that the archaeologists have introduced 'a new terminology which only confuses the points at issue,' and affirms that, in spite of Dr. Blegen's refutation in *AJA* for 1920, his thesis 'holds the field.' The archaeologists concerned will no doubt vindicate their terminology in due course, but an examination of the grounds given in *H and H* will show that the hold the thesis had was extremely precarious, even before archaeology made its protest.

The origin of the new theory appears to have been a passage in the *Encycl. Brit.* VII 150 (referred to in *H and H* 213) to the effect that, in the excavation undertaken by the American School in 1896 on the site of classical Corinth, the vases and fragments found were of nearly every age but the Mycenaean. The reference should have added that, though the excavation took place in the most important part of the city, it was only in 'a small part.' The value of this limited investigation, compared with the exploration of the Corinthia by the same School during recent years, can be estimated by anyone who has read Dr. Blegen's paper in the *AJA* and his *Korakou* (reviewed in *CR* xxxvii 71 ff.).

But Dr. Leaf had a positive argument. There was a Corinth, he admitted, in pre-Mycenaean and in post-Mycenaean days, but, strange as it may seem, there was none in the Mycenaean period itself. He even asserted that Corinth could not have existed then, because there was no trade with the West, and without such trade there could be no Corinth. And there was no such trade because the Achaeans were prevented by the Taphians, whom Dr. Leaf locates in Corfu and describes as a 'remarkable people, whose hand was heavy from Sidon to Thesprotia' (*H and H* 172). On this point I refer to *CR* xxx, 82 f. Here it is only necessary to recall two considerations which effectually condemn the notion. We are asked to believe that the Taphians could come south from Corfu and ravage the coasts of the Achaean Emperor and roam far beyond to the East, while the Emperor's ships meekly accepted their exclusion from the waters of the West. Such a state of things is incredible. And there was no hint quoted from history or tradition of the existence of this great rival maritime power in the north. The Homeric evidence shows the Taphians were merely freebooters, like other tribes of the time.

The possibility of trade through the Isthmus between north and south was not regarded. In *CR* xxxii 7 ff. I ventured to argue for the existence of such a trade, and Dr. Blegen now tells us, on p. 8 of his paper in the *AJA*, that his explorations have proved the importance and prosperity of the Corinthia throughout the whole Bronze Age, and that Corinth was an intermediate station on a great trade-route from the south to the north—'a route leading from the Argolid, from the Aegean, and even from Crete to the Isthmus, and thence across the Corinthian Gulf to Thisbe, whence it proceeded overland to Thebes and Orchomenos.' This would be a sufficient *raison d'être* for Corinth in Mycenaean days, but no reason—except the Taphians—has been given for denying trade with the West also. In the note on p. 2 of *CR* xxxii I quoted some authorities for the existence of such a trade, but here again there is good evidence from the American excavations. Dr. Blegen adds that 'relations with the West are also evident, and grow progressively stronger towards the end of the Bronze Age.' The extent of the trade in the latest Helladic period—1400–1100 B.C.—

is proved in his *Korakou*. We have to choose between positive results and Dr. Leaf's picture of an uninhabited and uninhabitable Corinthia.

The only trade that Dr. Leaf admitted in the Mycenaean period was 'the trifling coasting traffic of the Gulf itself and the Four Islands at the mouth of it' (*H and H* 212). How it can be pronounced only trifling does not appear. Dr. Blegen, on the contrary, says it 'must certainly have been considerable and very profitable.' Dr. Leaf goes on to say that, for commerce to the small extent he alleges, Sikyon would have supplied the necessary accommodation. It was, he says, doubtless a place of extreme antiquity, and 'why should settlers leave it for the barren plateau a few miles away which afforded nothing whatever?' The notion of a barren, utterly unattractive Corinthia cannot be accepted (Dr. Blegen's paper, 10 ff., and *cf. CR* xxxii 4). And the main point made, that Sikyon was occupied before the Corinthia, and that the latter remained unoccupied because of the disabilities of its terrain and climate, may be confidently rejected. It is clear from the recent explorations—see *e.g. Korakou*, 123—that the Corinthia was inhabited from neolithic times, and even if we allow that Sikyon had a start in still earlier days, that is of no importance for present purposes.

The climate of the Corinthia was painted by Dr. Leaf—on the authority of Philippson—in colours so drab that one was compelled to ask how he could believe it was inhabited in any age. Dr. Blegen characterizes the description as 'much distorted and exaggerated.' Dr. Leaf now replies that Dr. Blegen must settle the matter with Philippson, and that it is not necessary to his argument. That being so, it is difficult to understand why the climate was dragged in at all. The argument from it could have been of use only if pushed to the point of alleging that conditions were good in the pre-Mycenaean period, good again in the post-Mycenaean, but intolerable in the interval between the two.

The mention of *Κόρινθος* in *N* 664 was a difficulty which was met by excising the passage as spurious. On that point I refer to *CR* xxxii 2. The episode is 'destitute of any organic connexion with what precedes or follows,' and introduces 'an otherwise wholly unknown hero, who appears

only to be killed.' So Dr. Leaf hoped he would not 'shock the strictest unitarian if he said' (begging the question) 'that the mention of the name showed that this episode was post-Achaian.' The reason given and the pleasantry are quite unconvincing. Better grounds must be produced. The episode extends from line 660 to 672, and its connexion with what precedes is 'organic' enough, unless that word is taken to mean absolutely inseparable, and the havoc that the strictest, or even an ordinarily strict, dissector could work on the Homeric text with a canon of that sort can easily be imagined. I note that in the Introduction to *N* in his edition of the *Iliad* Dr. Leaf says the narrative of the book up to 672 'flows smoothly.' The want of organic connexion appears when it is wanted.

The argument from the observation of an old critic that *Κόρινθος* is the name the poet uses, and *Ἐφύρη* the one used by his *πρόσωπα*, is futile when examined. Dr. Leaf makes the most of it when he says (*H and H* 216) 'in the mouth of his (Homer's) characters it is always Ephyre.' Always! *One* character, Glaukos, uses the name—only twice—in *one* episode, referring to the place as the abode of Sisyphus, who preceded the speaker by four generations. There was plenty of time for a change of name. Dr. Leaf suggests that when Corinth, the 'new settlement,' took over the legend of Bellerophon, it got it from the nearest Sikyonian town, Ephyre. But that is mere speculation; no authority is quoted for connecting Bellerophon with Sikyon. In the long article on the hero in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I do not think the place is mentioned.

It is an essential part of Dr. Leaf's theory that in Mycenaean days the place of Corinth was taken by the Homeric Ephyre (*H and H* 217, and *CR* xxxvi 55). Where then was this Ephyre? Dr. Leaf thought of the Ephyre on the Selleis in the territory of Sikyon (*περὶ Σικυῶνα*) mentioned by Strabo, and again suggested the possibility that it was situated in one of the little plains in the mountains to the south of the Corinthia, but he was not satisfied with either position. He has now found the Ephyre in the modern Aetopetra, one of the sites described by Dr. Blegen. But Aetopetra, only some two miles from Corinth and some eight from Sikyon—*cf.* Dr. Leaf's quotation from Dr. Wace in

CR xxxii 135—and outside what was Sikyonia, cannot possibly be Strabo's Ephyre. It would involve bringing the Selleis from Sikyon and making it the present-day Longopotamo, which is a stream east of the river Nemea—the ancient boundary between Sikyonia and Corinthia—and consequently well within the latter territory (see p. 10 of Dr. Blegen's paper, with note). No other Ephyre has been heard of in the countryside except the Ephyre of the sixth *Iliad*, which was always accepted in antiquity as the later Corinth. Mr. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of the Ships*, 65 n, gives some of the authorities for the old belief that Ephyre was Corinth, and observes that Simonides, Fr. 84, seems to suggest that Ephyre was Acrocorinthus. Dr. Leaf is pleased (*CR* xxxvi 55) that Aetopetra had an acropolis. But the Acrocorinthus shows Cyclopean remains (Frazer's *Pausanias* iii 30), so honours are easy. The Acrocorinthus must surely have been a fortified stronghold from very early days.

The ancient tradition that the Ephyre in question was the later Corinth was not, I think, questioned before *H and H* appeared. In that book tradition is of little account. Ithaka goes to Leukas, Taphos to Corfu, Corfu to Crete. It is the κύκησις of old conditions that Dr. Leaf imputes to his own 'Cataloguer.' We had better keep the tradition in the present case. Further investigation may supply a reason for the change of name. It may be, as the *Catalogue* shows that Sikyon and Ephyre were formerly independent (Monro's note on *B* 572 and his paper in the *Eng. Hist. Review* i), that the change took place on or after the addition of Ephyre to the realm of Mycenae. But, however that may be, the tradition must stand till good reason is shown for disregarding it. Such reason has still to be discovered. The theory that there was no Corinth in Mycenaean days is one of a number of novelties in the three Dominion chapters of *H and H*. This particular novelty is a novelty based on a novelty, to wit, the maritime empire of the Taphians. But for the reasons given I think we may still preserve our belief in the Κόρινθος of the Catalogue and its epithet ἀφνειός.

MEGES AND DULICHIUM

CP XIX (1924)

THREE leading chapters of Dr. Leaf's *H and H* contain the most determined attack on the *Catalogue*, or *Boeotia*, in the *Iliad* that has ever been made. Its author examines the accounts given by the 'Cataloguer'—as he styles the villain of that piece—of the Dominions of Agamemnon, Peleus, and Odysseus, and proves to his own satisfaction that these were written at a late period, and present pictures of political conditions which never existed, but which were conjured up by the Cataloguer for purposes of his own. I have given reasons elsewhere for discrediting this view as regards the realms of Agamemnon and Peleus. For that of Odysseus, Dr. Leaf accepts with his whole heart Dörpfeld's theory that by 'Ithaka' Homer meant Leukas or S. Maura. That is a question that has remained in abeyance, pending the appearance of the volume on the subject that Dörpfeld promised nearly twenty years ago, and that is still, it is understood, in preparation, and any full discussion of it as a whole may well await its author's full and final statement. Dr. Leaf's own account of it is mostly on familiar lines, but he has also some new and original evidence of his own. This is the case with the kingdom, and the position in the world of Homer, of Meges, whom the Cataloguer makes ruler of Dulichium. In no part of his exposition of the enormities wrought by that reprobate is Dr. Leaf more positive. His tone is in fact so confident as to suggest that it is futile to entertain any other view than the one he propounds. It is 'as clear as the day that the poet of the Odyssey has never heard of Meges at Dulichium' (*H and H* p. 159), and the facts are 'in flat contradiction to the theory which would find Dulichion in Leukas' (p. 153), and so on.[1] I propose to consider the evidence on which he relies for these irrefragable conclusions.

Dr. Leaf's procedure is to show differences between the

[1]To the expressions quoted add the repeated 'of course' in the first paragraph of 'The Dominion of Peleus,' p. 113 *ante*, and refer to the opinion of 'G.M.' mentioned p. 208 *post*, and consider if such phraseology can be held to indicate a sober, *businesslike* way of discussing Homeric problems.

Catalogue in the *Iliad* and 'Homer,' and he finds such (p. 158) in regard to Meges. The Catalogue shows that 'Odysseus,' in the opening of ι, 'was in error in treating the Four Isles,' Dulichium, Samé, Zakynthos, and Ithaka, 'as a homogeneous group,' and, worse than that, 'he grossly misleads us when he gives us to suppose that he was the chief man, or even a very important one, in the Four Isles,' for he brings to Troy only twelve ships against the forty of Meges. The last part of the statement will be referred to farther on, but the rest of it cannot be considered correct in any particular. 'Homogeneous' is a good word, but it is not applicable here. The homogeneity that can be predicated on the references in the *Odyssey* is no more than this, that the four islands are mentioned together four times, evidently as the principal islands off the west coast of Greece—three times as supplying Wooers, and once in the definition of the position of Ithaka. If what Dr. Leaf wishes to believe, and wishes us to believe, is that the *Odyssey* makes the group a homogeneous Dominion under Odysseus, it is a common but mistaken view for which the *Odyssey* gives no warrant.[1] Dr. Leaf admits (p. 140) that there is no express statement in the poem that Odysseus is king of the four islands; he infers it from the speeches of Telemachus and Mentor in β 70 ff. and 233 ff. But it is difficult to find in these passages any ground for such an inference. And there is, I think, a very serious mistake. Dr. Leaf's translation of λαῶν, β 234, by 'peoples' will never do. Homer, or I think any other Greek author, could not use λαοί to mean a number of communities, that is, in the sense in which ἔθνεα or φῦλα or the like is used. And Dr. Leaf has to assume that 'all the suitors, whencesoever they came, are on the same footing as chieftains under the common rule of Odysseus,' which seems to be *petitio principii*. Finally, it may be asked where, in his account of himself in the opening of ι does Odysseus state that he is the chief man in the four islands. He seems only to inform his hosts that his native island is Ithaka, and that he is well known to the world for his wiles.

Another argument is (p. 158) that Meges is not mentioned at all in the *Odyssey*, whether as king of Dulichium or otherwise. But that is a point worth making only if it can be

[1] See, e.g., Mr. Allen in *JHS* xxx 105.

shown that there is some reason, which the author of the poem has disregarded, why Meges *should* be mentioned. It would make the argument stronger if it could be shown that in the *Odyssey* someone else has taken his place, and that Meges 'is excluded,' but that, as we shall see further on, Dr. Leaf fails to prove. It may be said that Nestor might have named Meges in γ 184 ff. There the old man begins by saying that of many of the chiefs he has not heard, *οἵ τ' ἐσάωθεν Ἀχαιῶν οἵ τ' ἀπόλοντο*, and adds that 'they say' the Myrmidons, Philoctetes, Idomeneus, and Agamemnon have returned safe. These are outstanding names, and Nestor obviously omits reference to many besides Meges. It will of course be replied that Meges was a neighbour, and that Nestor ought to have known about him. Perhaps he ought, but other leaders, as Agapenor, Thalpios, and Polyxenos, are not named, and *their* territories were much nearer Nestor than Dulichium. The point is hardly worth discussing. Meges is large in Dr. Leaf's view because of the importance of Dulichium in the Leukas-Ithaka controversy, but his position and deeds in the *Troica* are not such as to make it imperative that he should be distinguished by mention in the *Odyssey*. Mr. Allen (*The Homeric Catalogue*, 83) speculates on his fate, but it does not seem to matter whether he was dead, back in his home but married—in which case he would not be wooing; one account gave him Odysseus' sister to wife—or still dreeing a *πολυκηδέα νόστον*. Homer did not need or choose to bring him into the story of the *Odyssey*, and that is all that needs to be said. In Homeric discussions inferences are not so readily drawn now as formerly from Homer's omission to say something necessary for a critic's theory. The opportunities for naming the ruler of *Δουλίχιον* in the very few passages in which the name occurs may be judged by reference to those passages. It may be said there is just one worth considering, in the tale told to Eumaeus, and that will be noticed presently.

In regard to the realm of Meges, Dr. Leaf's first argument (p. 166) is that in the Catalogue, *B* 625, *Δουλιχίοιο Ἐχινάων θ'* means the island of Doliché (in the Echinades) and *the other Echinades*, because in another section of the Catalogue *Βουπράσιόν τε καὶ Ἦλιδα* means 'quite unmistakably Buprasium and the rest of Elis.' One similar

instance is surely little enough on which to decide, even if it were certain that *Δολίχη* and *Δουλίχιον* are one and the same, and that the Cataloguer means by 'Elis' the country known by that name in later times. His description is peculiar; indeed the language is not easy to construe.[1] He is describing a tract in the northwest of the Peloponnesus inhabited by Epeioi, but that the whole of that tract was 'Elis' to him cannot by any means, so far as I can discover, be regarded as established. And this much may be added, if the Cataloguer sent Meges to Troy with the respectable contingent of forty ships from the Echinades alone—the Echinades, which Dr. Leaf labours hard to prove, by copious quotation from the *MP*, a 'poor cluster of rocks,' then we must surely write him down a fool as well as unscrupulous rogue. Dr. Leaf's interpretation of *Δουλιχίοιο 'Εχινάων θ'* cannot be accepted. We must inquire further.

Dr. Leaf despises the Echinades. Now it may be true of them at the present day that their hills are bare, and as useless, if you please, to man and beast as 'the barren rocks of Aden,' but it does not follow that they have always been so. That is a fallacy that appears more than once in *H and H*.[2] Nothing is more certain than that, in that southern climate with a good rainfall, every one of those islands was once covered with forest and blessed with abundant springs. Zakynthos was, according to Homer, *ὑλήεσσα*, and Ithaka had *ὕλη παντοίη* and *ἀρδμοὶ ἐπηετανοί*, *ν* 247, though man has destroyed the wood and thus largely deprived himself of the water. The Echinades were in Homeric days of some use to the population. Pasture and wood would certainly be plentiful. Also, all down the coast from Krithoté at the northern end of the string of islets there are *treffliche Häfen*.[3] And one fact of prime importance is not to be overlooked—the hinterland, that is, the coast of Acarnania, and the rest of that country are not included in the *Catalogue*. Aetolia comes up to the Achelous. Between that river and the coast were, as Dr. Leaf describes them (pp. 167 f.), savage tribes, who took no part in the *Troica*. They were not of Greek nationality; their Hellenization took place only after Corinth

[1] See, e.g., Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang*, and Allen's summary, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 f.
[2] See *CR* xxx 81, and xxxii 4, and *CP* xii 134 f.
[3] Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, i 118.

established colonies in Western Greece and the islands.[1] Very possibly they were, as later, continually fighting the Aetolians, the *συνέχεια* of whose wars is referred to by Eustathius, 1321, on *Ψ* 630. As Bursian says,[2] these quarrels were the *Mittelpunkt* of the history of Acarnania, and that they began early we know from the story of Meleager and the Kuretes in the 9th *Iliad*. Acarnania was in an unsettled condition, with its population occupied with enemies on its eastern frontier, and it is not surprising to read in the *Catalogue* and the *Odyssey* alike that Odysseus had a footing on the coast. That he kept an establishment there we know from *ξ* 100-2. On *ἐπινομία* see Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, p. 240.[3] If then the Dulichium of the *Catalogue* be S. Maura, the likelihood cannot be denied that Meges, lord of the Echinades and Dulichium, had a footing too, especially as S. Maura is really part of Acarnania. It is true, as Eustathius remarks, 1225, on *Φ* 86, that the poet in the *Catalogue* *ἐσίγησε τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ Ἀκαρνᾶνας*, just as he omits other particulars which are to appear elsewhere in the *Iliad*. There are numerous instances of the kind, and there is no reason to be surprised at the procedure. I think the explanation of Eustathius, 622, on *Z* 23, is quite satisfying. The poet might have crammed all details into the Catalogue —*μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ταμιευσάμενος αὐτὰς (ἱστορίας) ἑκασταχοῦ, ἔνθα καιρός, εἰς ποικιλίαν τε τῆς ποιησέως, καὶ ἵνα μὴ ὁ κατάλογος ἐκεῖνος μακρότερος τοῦ δέοντος γένοιτο*. And surely, if the Cataloguer was a late and rash intruder, one must wonder why he did not give more verisimilitude to the contents of the document he was concocting, by making it harmonize better with the two poems for which he was preparing his list. Fick,[4] I may add, says that by Dulichium in the *Catalogue* *zweifellos Akarnanien gemeint ist*, which seems to go too far. But if Dulichium is S. Maura, the arrangement of territory suggested above is not only an intelligible one, but also not inconsistent with either the *Catalogue* or the *Odyssey*.

To Dr. Leaf, Dulichium is Cefalonia, for (p. 347) Homer brings from Dulichium 'the largest number of suitors, the

[1] Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 254, 257. [2] *Op. cit.*, i 108.
[3] Where he says, 'clearly Odysseus had rights of pasturage on the mainland.'
[4] *Ortsnamen*, p. 111 and cf. 130 and 139.

Cataloguer the largest number of ships,' so that 'both regard Dulichion as the largest island of the group.' No such conclusion can be drawn with any certainty, for a smaller island may have a larger cultivable area and be more cultivated, may have a better and more extensive trade, may consequently sustain a larger population, and may be altogether more advanced than a larger one. Nor is the comparison of the populations of modern Cefalonia and S. Maura, 70,000 and 30,000 respectively, of any use for the ancient times with which we are concerned. As to the number of ships, Mr. Allen's observation in *JHS* xxx 304, is worth recalling. Perhaps the Cephallenes 'did not respond largely to Agamemnon's call. We remember Ulysses' own reluctance.' The reluctance may be reflected in the small contingent of ships supplied by the three islands, Samos, Ithaka, and Zakynthos. Finally, though there were Δουλιχιῶται, and there is a Doulico, in Cefalonia, per contra it had Samioi and a town Samos or Samé.[1] But a discussion of the Cefalonia-Dulichium equation would take me beyond my limits, and it has been well threshed out already in this controversy. When I come to consider the words πρὸς Ἤλιδος in φ 347, we shall find reason for holding that the Samé of the *Odyssey* is Cefalonia, as it was always taken to be *ante Dorpfeldiam litem motam*.

Dr. Leaf considers (p. 165) the point, 'why this poor cluster of rocks, the Echinae, have been found worthy of mention in the Catalogue at all,' and thinks a probable answer is this, that the district in which the islands lie had a legendary history all to itself—the expedition of Amphitryon of Thebes against the Teleboai and the purification of Alkmaion—which connects it directly with Boeotia. 'It is therefore natural that to the Boeotian Cataloguer' the Echinae should possess a traditional importance quite out of proportion to their real quality. This is only 'a suggestion' (p. 319) of a possibility. The notion of a Boeotian origin for the *Catalogue* dies hard. Mr. Allen's refutation[2] should, I think, be final. One of Dr. Leaf's arguments (with others of a minor kind) for the Boeotian connection, based on the gathering at Aulis, was examined in detail in *CR* xxxi 37 ff., and found to be of no value.

[1] Mr. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 89, and notes.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.

But Dr. Leaf's Dulichium case is far from being exhausted. He goes further, but seems to me to fare no better. I pass to his reference to Amphinomos. I am not sure whether on page 158 he means by the translation of *Νίσου ἄνακτος*, 'Nisos the prince' (father of Amphinomos), and by his remark that there is in the passage 'no allusion to Meges,' that Amphinomos, or Nisos if alive, had supplanted the Cataloguer's Meges. Whether or no, it is clear there is no ground for arguing that either father or son was a ruling monarch. Amphinomos was only the principal one among the Wooers from Dulichium, *ὅς ῥ' ἐξ Δουλιχίου . . . ἡγεῖτο μνηστῆρσι*, π 396 f. In that there is no contradiction of the *Catalogue*. If Meges was alive and had accomplished his *νόστος*, he may not have cared to woo, or having a wife alive, may have been prevented. Amphinomos, it may be admitted, was, like Antinoos and Eurymachos of Ithaka, of the rank of *βασιλεύς*, but neither of these was king, and we may infer the same for Amphinomos. He and his father have the description *Δουλιχιεύς*. That is how the disguised Odysseus refers to Nisos, σ 127. He has heard *Νῖσον Δουλιχιῆα ἐΰν τ' ἔμεν ἀφνειόν τε*. That does not take us far on the road to sovereignty. It might almost be argued from it alone that he was something less than monarch. I think some might even draw that inference from the words of Amphinomos himself in π 401 f., *δεινὸν δὲ γένος βασιλῄϊόν ἐστι κτείνειν*. It does sound as if the reigning family in Ithaka were somewhat *βασιλεύτεροι* than the speaker.

But, whatever Dr. Leaf means with regard to Amphinomos, he is clear on the same page that there is a king of Dulichium in the *Odyssey* who is not the Meges of the Cataloguer. This is one Akastos, mentioned ξ 336. The name occurs in the story which Odysseus in beggar's guise told Eumaeus. Pheidon, *Θεσπρωτῶν βασιλεύς*, sent him on by ship *ἐς Δουλίχιον . . . βασιλῆϊ Ἀκάστῳ*. On this Dr. Leaf, Mr. Allen, and others accept Akastos as king of Dulichium, but there is no warrant for such a conclusion. There were *πολλοὶ βασιλῆες* in Homer's Ithaka, α 394 f., and a dozen at least, θ 390, in his Scheria farther up the coast. Why not in Dulichium? In Ithaka Antinoos and Eurymachos were *βασιλῆες*, σ 64 f. Pheidon of Thesprotia is *ἄναξ*, ξ 326, but even that title does not prove royalty.

He has, it is true, the description *Θεσπρωτῶν βασιλεύς*, but it is most unlikely that the 'numerous tribes and clans' there[1] were under one supreme authority. But, be that as it may, there is certainly no reason for holding that Akastos was more than *α βασιλεύς*. If he is, on this description, king of Dulichium, then Echetos (*σ* 85, 116, *φ* 308) is king of the *ἤπειρος*, or Acarnania, for he is in all three passages *Ἔχετος βασιλεύς*, just what Akastos is. To Dr. Leaf, Echetos is a'bogey king'; on the contrary, he seems to be a very real personage, and there is no reason whatever for holding him to be a bogey. It is, I repeat, unlikely there was a king of the 'rough hill-tribes'—Dr. Leaf's own description—in either Epirus or Acarnania. And surely the caution of Seymour[2] should be borne in mind, as particularly applicable to the countries now under reference, 'the story of the poems does not require exact statements as to governments.' In some cases exact statements could not be made. Least of all should we look for such in the idle tales of the *soi-disant* wandering beggar.

But as Dr. Leaf has dragged Akastos into this crusade against the *Catalogue*, I am inclined to ask whether there ever was such a person. I think he was unreal. Let us look into the accounts which Odysseus gives of himself while incognito. I take first his story to his own father in *ω* 303 ff. It is that he is son of a wealthy man, Apheidas Polypaemonides, that his own name is Epēritos, and that he comes from Alybas. The ancients localized Alybas in various directions. The moderns—see, e.g., the notes of Monro, van Leeuwen, Merry, and Ameis-Hentze—believe that its name is a fiction (*ἀλάομαι*, *ἀλύω*, or Argyropolis, van L.), and the personal names the same. And there is this to be noted, that all these names can be taken as having a reference to Epirus. For the father's name, Apheidas, I find there was a tribe of Apheidantes in that country.[3] For Epēritos the similarity to Epirus is plain enough. For Alybas I find that the very similar Arybbas was an 'Epirotic personal name.'[4] For the termination cf. Karnabas son of Triopas, *Περραιβῶν τύραννος*—there were Perrhaebi in Thesprotia—(Eusta-

[1] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 245. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 96.
[3] Bursian, *op. cit.*, i 24, and Fick, *Personennamen*, p. 412.
[4] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 258, n.

thius, 448 on Δ 87 ff.). And there is some reason for the statement of Fick (*Personenn.*, p. 431) that *Odysseus und sein Geschlecht ursprünglich den Thresproten angehörten.* It seems to me that in this tale Odysseus is, in imagination, in Thesprotia, and every detail is invented. Is it not the same with the tale to Eumaeus in ξ ? It is on the same lines as the other. Again he is the son of a wealthy man, Kastor Hylakides, ξ 200, 206, and a Cretan, as he is to Athené in ν 256 ff., and this time he, or Homer for him, connects his life-story with Thesprotia directly. If he was inventing names or using known ones at random in ω, it may well be that he is doing the same in ξ. A slight indication that in the latter Homer is using any names that come to hand is to be found in the likeness between Kastor and Akastos, not much in itself, it is true, but a little more striking when we note the same amount of likeness between the Pheidon of one tale and the Apheidas of the other. So that it seems likely enough that Akastos is a mere fiction. Eumaeus need not be assumed to have known all the βασιλῆες up and down the coast. The fictions of Odysseus were ψεύδεα ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, and some of the personal names now under reference were names in actual use. I think further study of them might be productive of some result, but all I suggest here is that there is good ground for the belief that the πολύτροπος one is having some fun to himself with Eumaeus, as he is with his father in ω (κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσι, 240), and as he is with the Cyclops in ι. There is certainly enough to warn us against taking Akastos seriously. For that reason, and especially because βασιλεύς does not necessarily imply sovereignty, we appear to be justified in removing him from the scene as Dr. Leaf's 'king of' Dulichium, and allowing Meges to continue to reign there in peace.

The flim-flam told to Eumaeus in ξ 314-59 needs further notice. Dr. Leaf (p. 349), like Mr. Brewster[1] and others, has yet another argument based on it. The beggar guest tells Eumaeus that Pheidon of Thesprotia put him on board a Thesprotian ship, which was to take him to Dulichium. If then, it is said, S. Maura is Dulichium, all the shipmen had to do was to run him down the coast to its northern shore. Instead, we find them at Ithaka. If Thiaki, south of S.

[1] *HS* xxxiii 65 f.

Maura, be Homer's Ithaka, what were they doing so far out of their way? Dulichium must be south of S. Maura.

The argument ignores the possibility that they were making for Vlicho, the port on the east coast of S. Maura, and were following what may have been an ordinary course for that end. But let that pass. It is certain they did take the long course, otherwise there is no meaning to be got from ξ 339, ἀλλ' ὅτε γαίης πολλὸν ἀπέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς, a line which appears to be overlooked. The necessity for going 'far from land' can be explained only in this way. But there is a worse omission in the argument. No account is taken of the κακὴ βουλή formed by the ship's company. As soon as the ship was well away from the land, they decided to sell their passenger as a slave, and to begin with stripped him of his fine raiment. At evening they arrived at Ithaka. Dr. Leaf (p. 349) and others say they touched there *in order to get supper*, and it is regarded as an absurdity that the sailors should have gone so far out of their way simply in order to have supper on that island. So it is. But would not the κακὴ βουλή explain all to Eumaeus, even if he were, like a modern critic, scutinizing every detail of a story which, as soon as it began to tell of his old master, he regarded as the purest fiction (ξ 363 ff.)? Would it be safe for the sailors to sell their slave in Dulichium, when he had been sent in their care to a βασιλεύς there? That must be done at a distance. They are Thesprotians themselves and must return to their country, and they must also do their business in Dulichium. They can easily have a lie ready for both places, but they must dispose of their man first. Where they were going to take him we are not told, just as we certainly are *not* told that they went out of their way in order to enjoy a supper on Ithaka. They did, it is true, go ashore there to sup, leaving their victim on board in bonds. What the next step was to be we do not know, for their prisoner escaped and foiled their evil intention. This κακὴ βουλή is an element in the tale which cannot be neglected. In fact, it makes the narrative consistent with the theory that S. Maura is the Dulichium of Homer.

Next, Dr. Leaf (p. 161) depends on *N* 685 ff., which he calls a Catalogue, and dignifies by the name of the *Ionia*, because the Ἴαονες are mentioned in it. Now that passage

does not pretend to be a formal list. It simply mentions the warriors of the various tribes who resisted a particular attack by Hector, but to call it a 'Catalogue' will tell with some. Dr. Leaf finds that 'the *Boeotia*, the *Ionia*, and the *Iliad* all contradict one another in the most complicated manner,' and 'the general upshot seems to be this, that the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Ionia* say that Meges was at home in Elis, the *Boeotia* says he was in Dulichion. Can our conclusion be in doubt?' I take the discrepancies in detail, and find there is no contradiction. All that can be said is that these 'Catalogues' are not identical in content. Who but the seeker after discrepancies would expect them to be? But it is a far cry from that to contradiction.

First, in the *Boeotia* the leaders of the Epeioi are four—of three families—Amphimachos and Thalpios, grandsons of Aktor, Diores son of Amarynkeus, and Polyxenos son of Agasthenes and grandson of Augeas. The *Ionia* mentions Meges, Amphion, and Drakios, so 'there is not one name in common, and Meges in the *Ionia* is not in Dulichion at all, but is one of the leaders of the people from whom the *Boeotia* makes him a fugitive.' The latter remark is hopelessly incorrect, as it was *not* Meges that was a fugitive, but his father Phyleus, and it was *not* the people that Phyleus was a fugitive from, but his father Augeas. There is no reason to suppose that Phyleus, much less Meges, was an outcast to the Epeioi of Elis after the death of Augeas. As to the other objections, if the *Boeotia* were giving an exhaustive list of the leaders of the Epeioi before Troy, there might be some force in the difference between it and the *Ionia*, but obviously it does not pretend to do anything of the sort. It is a rapid description of a piece of country in the north-west of the Peloponnesus, and it is only incidentally mentioned that the people were Epeioi, *πολέες δ' ἔμβαινον Ἐπειοί*, *B* 619. There were Epeioi elsewhere, as in Dulichium, and there may have been other chiefs of lower rank than the four principal leaders. We need not be surprised at hearing of Amphion and Drakios in the *Ionia*, for we are not when we are told in *Π* 168 ff.—shall we regard the passage as a 'Catalogue' and dub it the *Myrmidonia?*—that there were subordinates of Achilles who are not mentioned in the *Boeotia*, and who have only this one mention in the *Iliad*.

As to Meges in the *Ionia* not being 'in Dulichium at all,' why should anything be said there about his home and realm? Why should he not, being himself of that race, be acting with other Epeioi? So for Otos, an ἀρχὸς Ἐπειῶν, *O* 519, who is described as comrade of Meges and as belonging to Kyllené in Elis. Might an Epeian from Dulichium not be a friend of an Epeian from Elis? Might they not be comrades at Troy even if they had not known each other before? But, the argument continues, Kyllené is not mentioned in the *Boeotia*. As to that, Hyrminé, which was close to Kyllené, *is* mentioned. As an ἀκρωτήριον[1] it may have been a better landmark than Kyllené, and it is, be it observed, points on a boundary —'landmarks,' Leaf on *B* 615—that are given in the *Boeotia*. If the author of the latter was bound to give an exhaustive list of places, we must allow Dr. Leaf all that can be argued from the absence of Kyllené from it. If he was not, the inference is vain.

Yet again Dr. Leaf argues (p. 162) 'that to Homer Phyleus himself, the father, was not an exile; for it is in his own land of Elis, that Neleus [Nestor?] met him and outcast him in the spear-throw, when the Pylians faced the Aetolians and Epeians in contest at the funeral games of Amarynkeus (*Ψ* 630 ff.),' which means that Phyleus could not possibly come from Dulichium for games in Elis. Yet these were attended by Pylians and Aetolians and Iphiklos from Thessaly! Surely material for objection is scarce when such an argument can be used. The critcism by which these 'contradictions' are established is really an excellent specimen of the niggling fault-finding, by exaggeration of discrepancies, by which the Germans broke up the poems in the nineteenth century. We understood recently that Dr. Leaf, 'rubbing his eyes' over Wilamowitz' latest Homeric book, had broken away from such methods, but one is compelled to ask how his present procedure differs from that of the Berlin scholar. It is surely very unfair in its denial of all freedom to an epic poet.

The expression πρὸς Ἤλιδος in *φ* 347 has been much discussed, and is one of the Leukadists' trump cards. Dr. Leaf (p. 153) easily wrests it to his own purpose. Telemachus, 'when he has occasion to speak of Ithaka in contrast

[1]Bursian, ii 108, and references.

to the rest of the group, denotes the latter as the islands which lie "on the side of Elis",' and that is 'a perfectly natural expression if Leukas is Ithaka,' and not to be reconciled with the Dulichium-Leukas equation. All of which depends on the assumption that Telemachus is referring to the four big islands. Now if we refer to the other three passages in which the four are enumerated, twice by Telemachus, α 245 ff. and π 122 ff., and once by his mother, τ 130 ff., we find the description is a formula, and it is strange that Telemachus does not use it again in ϕ, if he means all four islands. Also there is this difference that, whereas in the three passages Ithaka is named after the other islands, in ϕ it is named first. There is surely some reason for departure from the formula. Indeed, instead of assuming that the four islands are referred to in ϕ, one begins to feel there is ground for presuming they are not.

The better way is to examine the text. Telemachus' words are in the opening of a speech to his mother, when the Wooers are clamouring to prevent the Bow from being handed to his father, and he evidently shares the general excitement. He speaks *to* his mother, but *at* the Wooers, at their leaders indeed, when he says no one has more power over the Bow than he,

> οὔθ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,
> οὔθ' ὅσσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἤλιδος ἱπποβότοιο.

Now who are the leaders referred to in the first line? Antinoos and Eurymachos, as the two principals among the whole horde, especially in this matter of the Bow, could not of course be overlooked, and the general belief is that they were Ithakans. The story about Antinoos' father in π 418 ff. seems to indicate that for Antinoos, and the reference in π 442 ff. to Odysseus' kindliness toward Eurymachus in his childhood seems to show the same for him. See also o 518 ff. and various expressions in χ 45 ff. These are the leaders at whom Telemachus is speaking in the first line. But who are the leaders from other νῆσοι referred to in the second? *Not* Amphinomos, leader of the troupe from Dulichium; his character excludes him from the ouburst of Telemachus. Refer to his action in π 394 ff., comparing ν 245 f., and to the scene in σ 119-57, and noting Amphinomos'

kindly address in 122 f., and see in addition 394 f., and 412 ff., and note the special testimonial he has from the poet, *φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσι*. He is a man with real pretensions to uprightness among the ruffianly mob.[1] The second line does not refer to Amphinomos' home, Dulichium; it must refer to the only other islands that supplied Wooers, Samé and Zakynthos, and the only two of the four that lie *πρὸς Ἠλιδος* are Cefalonia and Zanté. Zanté is Zakynthos, so Samé is Cefalonia. There is thus not only no 'flat contradiction' of the theory that Dulichium is S. Maura, but even good support for it. If the equation is correct, we can see another reason for the exclusion of Dulichium from Telemachus' survey. No one would ever think of describing S. Maura by reference to Elis, 55 miles away, and with Thiaki, Arkoudi, and Atoko between.

Another reason for arguing that S. Maura is the Homeric Ithaka is based on the question to a newcomer, as in *α* 170 ff. (cf. *ξ* 187 ff., *π* 57 ff. and 222 ff.):

> *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;*
> *ὁππoίης τ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀφίκεο· πῶς δέ σε ναῦται*
> *ἤγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην; τίνες ἔμμεναι εὐχετόωντο;*
> *οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν ὀίομαι ἐνθάδ' ἱκέσθαι.*

This is a point on which Dörpfeld has been answered over and over again. The universal interpretation, till he broached his theory, was that the last line embodied a little joke, 'a primitive and rather silly joke' as Dr. Leaf calls it. See, e.g., Eustathius, Hayman, and Merry and Riddell on *α* 173. *Now* it is regarded as evidence that Homeric Ithaka is S. Maura, connected with the mainland by a ferry (reckoned, says Dr. Leaf, 'of course part of the land journey') at the end of an approach by land, and Dr. Leaf has a new reason to adduce. The land approach 'was at least unusual and probably not quite respectable; at least it may have laid a newcomer under the suspicion of friendliness with the rough hill-tribes inland' (pp. 167 f.). But surely this is to read into the lines just what you want to find there. There is no warrant in the text. Take the first of the passages, *α* 170 ff., relating

[1] The *Mnesterophonia* will no doubt be quoted against me. Amphinomos, *χ* 89 ff., rushes at Odysseus with drawn sword. The wording is quite consistent with my explanation, for the intent is *not* to kill Odysseus, but only *εἴ πώς οἱ εἴξειε θυράων*.

to the arrival of Athené-Mentes, and consider if there be any suspicion in Telemachus' mind. Not only is there no trace of it, but he seems only too eager to welcome the stranger. I need not quote the various expressions which show that. There is not the smallest reason for thinking the newcomer had arrived by a 'not quite respectable way.' And there is one thing in the formula that is fatal to the inference of the Leukadists, and that is that it starts by assuming in the clearest terms that the stranger has come by a ship, and not by a ferry-boat. That is evident from the second and third lines in the quotation given above. He who puts the question assumes as a matter of course that the stranger has come in a *νηῦς* manned by regular *ναῦται*, and the inquirer even desires to know who the sailors are, that is, of what nationality. The alternative of a ferry is absolutely excluded, for in that case there would be no need of such questions.

That, I urge, is fatal to the Dörpfeldian view. The last line in the quotation is nothing but a primitive joke, 'silly' it may seem to some of us now, but a joke nevertheless. As van Leeuwen notes on *α* 173, *verba urbane iocantis*. He refers to *ἐμβαδὸν ἴξεσθαι ἣν πατρίδα γαῖαν*, *O* 505, and, when I turn to Dr. Leaf's own commentary on that passage, I find the note, '*ἐμβαδόν*, on foot, a sarcastic taunt, reminding one of the artless humour of the words of Telemachus to the visitor in his island,' and *α* 173 is referred to. The jokes in Homer *are* primitive to our modern taste, but they are there. Van Leeuwen refers also to *τ* 163, and might have added *π* 204, *οὐ μὲν γάρ τοι ἔτ' ἄλλος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς*, and the *Οὖτις* affair. I could quote other passages, and also modern parallels from my own primitive country, Scotland. Parallels have also been given from Germany and modern Greece, and *λ* 158 f. is not to be forgotten. And if it be said, as it is, that the formula is not so appropriate in *π* 57-59 (Telemachus to Eumaeus) as in the other passages, the answer is that a scrutiny of the Homeric formulas shows that in many cases a particular form of words is used in a context in which it is not so appropriate as in other passages. Every Homeric student knows what havoc the critics have made through neglect to observe this.

Dr. Leaf also refers to the ferrying of cattle by the neatherd Philoitios, *υ* 185 ff., and declares (p. 153) that, if Thiaki is

Ithaka, 'it is not possible to believe that such a thing can have been done.' I cannot think that anyone will hesitate to believe in the possibility after reading Mr. Allen's pages 92 and 98f., with notes. Dr. Leaf has surely forgotten Noemon and his mares and mules in Elis, δ 634 ff., and Elis is much farther from Thiaki than Acarnania is. For the transportation to Thiaki in boats of several hundred swine from one of the islets between it and the mainland, see Mure's *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, i 14. Dr. Leaf brings into the argument the squalls that infest this piece of sea, just as he used such 'gusts of rugged wing That blow from off each beakéd promontory' for his Aulis theory, on which see *CR* xxxi 7 ff. But good weather and a calm sea would not be altogether unknown. Noemon could manage in spite of squalls. Dr. Leaf appears to think of Philoitios as ferrying over his contributions to the Wooers' table daily. Others have thought the same, and have been refuted by Groeschl, Michael, and others. The *Odyssey* furnishes no ground for such a belief. The transportation of flocks by islanders to other islands or the mainland for grazing is known in other parts of the world. See Eustathius, 191, on *B* 145, for Ikaria and Samos. The practice prevails in the Aran Islands off the west coast of Ireland.

The supposed 'telescoping process,' the outcome of an imagined 'thrust,' by which the changes in the populations and names of these islands are assumed to have been caused, is discussed by Dr. Leaf on pages 154 f. It is the weakest point in a weak theory. Because such changes have taken place elsewhere—on which see Mr. Allen, page 97—it 'may well be,' as Dr. Leaf puts it on page 53 of his book, that they have occurred in these Ionian Islands. The assumption is only an assumption, for there is no evidence to support it, and, more than that, it is against the tradition and the probabilities as these can be argued from the nature of the terrain and the geographical relations of western Greece. The tradition that exists regarding the coming of the Dorians must be disregarded, and the Dorians made to take a new route, in order to support a new hypothesis! It is amazing procedure. But I can refer for full discussions to Mr. Allen and others, as G. Lang, *Geographie der Odyssee*, 7, 97; Groeschl, *Dörpfelds Leukas-Ithaka Hypothesis*, 39 f.; and

Paulatos, *ΠΑΤΡΙΣ* 129 ff. What Dörpfeld 'thinks' on this point, in order to complete his case, is stated by Seymour, *op. cit.*, 76 f., but Seymour abstains from approval of the 'assumption.' If Dörpfeld could make out a strong case in other respects, he might be forgiven for attempting the explanation he suggests, but there is hardly a piece of evidence for his theory that has not been refuted. On the point now under reference what answer is there to Mr. Allen's questions?—'If Thiaki-Ithaca were not really Ithaca, how did it get that position? Could an unimportant rock which in the classical period had no history except its heroic past, have appropriated Ulysses and Penelope? And was a flourishing Corinthian colony, such as Leucas, to abdicate its rightful heroic past in favour of an unimportant rock?' There is no reply but this, that it is in the highest degree improbable, and that it could be believed only on the strongest evidence, and such evidence there is none. I would only add that the mere description of Ithaka, *ν* 242, *οὐχ ἱππήλατός ἐστιν*, while Leukas is *von allen ionischen Inseln gradezu das Rosseland* (Engel, *Wohnsitz*, 23), and the omission, in the Homeric descriptions of Ithaka, of all reference to the white cliffs which are described as so conspicuous a feature of the scenery of Leukas, are enough to condemn Dörpfeld's hypothesis out of hand.

In short, I think Dr. Leaf's arguments in regard to Meges and Dulichium quite fail to convince. At any rate I close with the earnest hope that readers of *H and H* will not allow themselves to be deterred by the mere strength of its language from testing its conclusions for themselves. The pleasant style in which its author writes and the confident tone he assumes secured a favourable reception for the book, but when one sits down and examines carefully *ex Homero* the multitude of novel propositions which the new theory involves—some of them are enumerated in *CW* xvii (1923), 22—the whole scheme proves to be unsubstantial.

SECTION III

ΑΝΘΡΩΠ' ΑΦΑΙΡΗΣΕΙ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΠΟΙΙΑΝ

THE RISE OF THE GREEK EPIC

I PREFIX a few notes, the chief object of which is to show that Professor Murray was wrong in saying in *CR* xliii 170 that I had 'a somewhat hazy notion of his views,' not apparently having read his third edition. I duly purchased that edition when published, and have often since, like the countryman, wished my eighteenpence was in my pocket again, for I was woefully disappointed in one respect. I had felt sure that, if it did not contain some recantation of the views in the earlier editions, it would at least include extended notice of the many damaging criticisms by which his hypothesis had been riddled, but of that there is very little.[1] As to the haziness of my notions, I know I am not alone, not only in doubting whether I always understand the Professor, but also in suspecting that he is not himself sure that he has promulgated a coherent and consistent scheme. Andrew Lang, I have good reason to know, was of that opinion to the last.

I propose now to remedy that defect to some extent by calling attention to some of the many discussions of features of the book which have appeared in classical journals in the course of twenty years, and of which the reader who does not peruse such journals would be quite ignorant. They are as a rule effective refutations of surprising conclusions and erroneous statements. For the reviews of the treatise, a number of which I have collected, they are for the most part in general terms and do not include detailed criticism.[2]

[1] Others have felt the same. Thus Professor Shorey in his review of the volume in *CP* xx (1925) says 'his preface refers to my article on the Logic of the Homeric Simile. But he actually reprints without change the entire argument based on the misunderstanding there pointed out of the Homeric Similes.'

[2] That in the *TLS* for March 26th, 1908, is an exception. Andrew Lang's article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1908, contains what is practically a similar and similarly damaging notice. For mention of some others see *CP* vii 190. I cannot recall any notice that is entirely favourable.

But it is only by testing in detail that the contents of the book can be properly estimated. It is easy for a reviewer to dwell on and to reprobate the excess of matter due to a lively imagination, for example, but that is not enough. Grounds must be examined and citations verified and their relevance considered, *Homer in hand*. The Professor has a persuasive, pleasing style, and has produced what Professor Rose has described (*Primitive Culture in Greece*, 238) as a 'most entertaining work,' but he also in his ardour adopts an extraordinarily confident tone which alone may mislead the general reader, already seduced by the writer's charming little ways. It is just, I have found, when asseveration is most emphatic, that one must be most on one's guard and pause to consider. As Professor Shorey, who finds the book, as so many do, 'very delightful reading,' puts it, 'when regarded as argument or science, it must be taken as subject to verification' (*CP* vi 240). Some results of such verification in the shape of the exposure of faulty methods and the erroneous conclusions arrived at by them, are given below. I cannot include all such in a prefatory note, but I think those indicated will suffice.

For the proper appreciation of the contents of the *RGE* it must be clearly understood and emphasized that its author is in sympathy with the German Homeric criticism of last century, and uses its results freely. That was a system conspicuous, as every Homeric student knows, for the strange canons it evolved for its own ends, for the manner of their application, and for the unparalleled diversity of the results achieved.[1] Its patrons came to the study of the epics with, it might almost be said, a prepossession against them, and everything was yellow to their jaundiced eyes. As Andrew Lang said, Homer never got the benefit of the doubt. For a recent account of the system, with its 'niggling word-baiting,' etc., etc., and its invocation at will of an array of 'hypothetical nucleus-composers, redactors, and

[1] In the Preface to *RGE*[3] it is said that a great difference of the kind—between the conclusions of the two masters, Bethe and Wilamowitz—indicates, not that the method is faulty, but that the available evidence is insufficient. Surely a strange plea on their behalf. They had the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* before them, as full of matter, Gladstone said, as an egg is full of meat, and personally, I think I am justified on somewhat wide reading of the literature of Homer in saying that it is rare for Dissectors to complain of lack of material. Rather they seem to revel in abundance. On this point, as regards a weapon very popular with that class of critics, I mean the Repetitions, see p. 357 ff. *post*. As regards Linguistic Tests I refer to pp. 296 ff. *post*.

their ghostly kin,' I can refer to Professor Rose's *Handbook of Greek Literature*, pp. 34 and 42 f. 'Their theories are now 'mainly of interest to students of the history of classical scholarship.' To Professor Myres it is 'a portentous superstructure now falling into decay' (*Huxley Memorial Lecture*, 1933, p. 287). It is the criticism to which Dr. Leaf, in the second edition of his *Iliad*—two volumes that are, except in this respect, supreme among editions of the poem—so easily inclined, and we are told in the preface to *RGE*[1] that its author may almost say he accepts Dr. Leaf's work as a basis. Dr. Leaf, we know, repented his acceptance of German methods (*JHS* xxxix, pp. xxiv ff.). He had come to see that they were 'obsolete and harmful,' that German Homeric scholarship was 'hopelessly effete and sterile,' and that this was simply one of the results of Germany losing her bearings, moral and material, in the mist of her own conceit and megalomania.' Criticism of the kind has in fact grown steadily in disfavour, not entirely because of its inherent viciousness, but also of the changed attitude to Homer and the early age of Greece that has been the outcome of archaeological exploration, and Professor Murray's adherence to it and use of the 'loads of learned lumber' which it produced must be greatly against him in the eyes of the majority of Homeric students, who more and more incline to Unitarian views.[1] The attacks on the epics 'inevitably issue in preposterous reasoning and blunders in scholarship' (Shorey in *CP* xxv 101).

The Professor continues, however, to approve, and in *CR* xliii quoted above regrets that I do not exhibit more respect for the leading members of the school, two of whom, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Eric Bethe, he describes somewhere as 'acknowledged masters.' Distinguished Greek scholars and men of high capacity they undoubtedly are, but in the matter of Homeric inquiry they are capable of what must be described as mere absurdities. For Wilamowitz it is only necessary to refer to the 'amazing blunder' exposed in *CR* xxxvi 170, or to the still greater foolishness about the 'nightshirt' of Telemachus referred to p. 372 *post*

[1] In the *QR* 1913, 319 the Professor objects to the description 'Unitarian position as no longer suitable, as the controversy is arranging itself on different lines.' I have often wondered since, but have not discovered, what these lines may be.

and p. 383 *post*, or to the remarkable instance of the way criticism (by Wilamowitz) 'can over-reach itself' noted by Miss Stawell in *H and I* 150 n.[1] See also *CP* ix 40, referring to Hennings and Erhardt, and scathing remarks by Professor Babbitt in *CJ* viii 214. One might ask if one should have regard to the criticism of a man capable of treating the epic in such a spirit. He crowned his Homeric labours with his *Homer u.d. Ilias*,[2] published in 1919, of which Dr. Leaf declared, in the *JHS* as already quoted, that it made him rub his eyes to make sure that he was in the twentieth century. 'It seemed like an echo of thirty years ago.' One may surely be pardoned if one finds oneself unable to respect such a master. The other great exemplar, Bethe, also continues on the old lines, and to produce by the old methods results as bizarre as anything that was produced during last century. His latest triumph is a demonstration—I am not aware that it has received the concurrence of anyone—that the Greeks had not access to the Troad till 700 B.C., an exhibition of masterfulness that is worthy of being placed beside Leukas-Ithaka, Taphos-Corfu, Scheria-Cyprus, and similar eccentricities. He finds the discovery useful in connection with another startling, and certainly on the face of it most unlikely, theory of his own, known as *Sagenverschiebungen*, and, as Professor Murray finds (*RGE*[3] 223 ff.) this a useful support for his own views, I give below some references that will be found useful for estimating its worth.

I may say at once that not much has been said in its favour. In this country and America some followers of the late Miss Harrison—on whose 'hasty generalizations' and other peculiarities see Dr. Farnell in *YW* for 1906 and 1912—have occasionally said a word for it, and Cauer accepted it.[3]

[1] I might also refer to his discussion of the arms of Hector and Paris in his paper on Θ, for which see p. 361 *post*.

[2] A specimen of the argumentation in this work is discussed in the paper *Wilamowitz on* Θ, pp. 357 *post*. Wilamowitz's essay was originally published by itself, but afterwards included in his *Homer u.d. Ilias*.

[3] Cauer has had deserved praise for being more judicious than most Dissectors, and it must be allowed that he did something to moderate the exuberant hypercriticism of his fellow-countrymen. But careful students of the *Grundfragen* will find that every now and then his good judgment is wanting. I give but two instances. On his misuse of the Patronymics see Scott in *CP* vii 293 ff. For the *Abstracta* I refer to my own papers in *CP* xviii 346 ff. and xix 176 f. There is a Rothe-Cauer incident which is perhaps worth recording as showing the *perfervidum ingenium* of the latter. The two Homerists were discussing Homer in a café in Berlin, when Cauer became so angry that he rose and left abruptly, *leaving his tankard half full.*

I also see it stated that Gruppe and Robert approved, though I cannot find any references. But generally the notion is dismissed with hard, even contemptuous words.

It originated in a paper by Dümmler in Studniczka's *Cyrene*, and was amplified and proclaimed a *bombensicher Archimedespunkt* by Bethe in several treatises, but its weakness was at once exposed by Otto Crusius in his *Studien zur griechischen Epen, I Sagenverschiebungen*. See also Kroll, *Sage u. Dichtung* in *N. Jbb.*, 1912; Finsler, *Homer*, 211; Mülder's *Bericht* on Homer in *Bursian*, clvii (1912); Drerup in his *Homer* and in *Das fünfte Buch der Ilias*, 269 ff.; Andrew Lang in the chapter on Homer and the Saga in *W of H*, with whom Leaf in *Troy*, p. 14, declares himself in entire sympathy; Farnell in his *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 329, on the 'bad scholarship and psychological fallacy'; Halliday in *LAA*, xi 3 ff., and Professor Rose in *YW* for 1923-4, 52 on his 'shrewd blows at the fantastic theory;' Shorey in *CP* xx, 284 ('weird German paradox'); Wace in the *Edin. Rev.* 1919, 163 ('ingenious fancies'); Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, Chap. xiv; and Sheppard in *CR* xxxvi 169, who agrees with Scott (in *The Unity of Homer*, 220 ff.) as to the 'finespun nonsense' of critics who attempt to make Hector a Boeotian, in spite of the fact that Pindar knew not the hero as such. The idea was too much even for Wilamowitz. See his *Ilias u. Homer*, 334 f. and n., on this 'groundless fancy' of Dümmler's. And on this mass of opinion one concludes that Drerup was right when he described it as a *Modetorheit* that had had its day, and that it affords but poor support to Professor Murray's own theorisings.

No, Bethe and Wilamowitz are doubtless great scholars, but they are bad guides in Homeric matters. The 'sequacious instinct' that keeps Germans working on lines laid down for them without 'searching examination' for themselves noted by the late Dr. Farnell, is as strong in them as in meaner men. Farnell adds (*An Oxonian Looks Back*, 95 and n.) 'the unhappy results of it are exemplified by much of the German "higher criticism" of Homer.' In this connection it is interesting to note the attitude of the two masters to the matter that has been gleaned from the Hittite tablets. It was welcomed by many authorities, including perhaps the best of them, Paul Kretschmer, but for the two stalwarts

—οὐκ ἔχαδε στῆθος χόλον. The strong language they indulge in on the subject can be read on p. 426 *post*.

But Bethe's 'bombproof' notion is but one of the many topics on which dissecting operators believe they have scored successes, and which Professor Murray finds useful for his purpose. Armour is another. He relies on Reichel and Robert, 'agreeing most nearly' with the latter. Both are now quite out of date, but the point is that they proceeded by dissection of the text. They depended on 'arbitrary excisions and on certain assumptions. Reichel lived to abandon an important element in his scheme, and Dr. Leaf rejects his theory as a whole. Sound criticism can have nothing to say to the excisions. Dr. Leaf in his *Iliad*, ii 630, characterizes those in Robert's work in very plain terms' (*L of D* p. 194). Dr. Leaf's remark referred to in this quotation—and it was made when he was in full sympathy with Dissecting methods—was that Robert's book, *Studien zur Ilias*, contains 'such wholesale and arbitrary alterations of the text that the book itself amply refutes the theory which it sets out to prove.' The book did not find favour even in Germany, but its contents are welcome to Professor Murray.

Or take the matter of the Wall in *M* and following books of the *Iliad*. There is a statement of a few points against the narrative on p. 243 of *RGE*[3], but two of importance on the other side are unfortunately omitted. λητίδα πολλήν in *M* 7 surely indicates that the Wall was not built at the beginning of the campaign. And no account is taken of the most important consideration of all, the effect on the Grecian host of the secession of Achilles. Those who dissect the Battle by the Ships make the fullest use of one of their standing principles, that, if a thing is not mentioned, it is not known to the interpolator or diaskeuast for the time being. The Great Discrepancy—as it is called in Chap. ix of Lang's *W of H*—between *I* and *Π* has brief mention, and so the Boeotian origin of the *Catalogue*, which latter, as Mr. Gomme says in *JHS* xxxiii, has little to support it except 'the agreement of scholars to support each other.' The Pisistratean Recension, which has had a very bad press for many years, is made more use of. And so on. The point to remember is that the Professor is in full sympathy with what so many Homerists regard as exhibitions of German unreason,

so that his book becomes in great measure a refuge for lost causes and impossible loyalties.

The time and energy that have been wasted over these fads has been enormous. The simpler task of seeking to ascertain whether there are features that persist in the poems, from *A* to *ω*, seems the one more likely to produce acceptable results. Rothe pursued it in his *Ilias als Dichtung*, showing, what so many feel who have studied the poems long and closely, that the poetry as a whole has an *Eigenart* and discloses a *fassbare Persönlichkeit*. To those who still believe in a number of poets whose work or works have been utilized, and who can even name to us the epics and the *Lieder*, an obvious means of confirming their enucleations is urged on p. 231 *post*. The challenge has been publicly made. The failure to apply so obvious a test is surely a confession of utter failure. Its successful application to a selected portion of the poetry would do more for the Professor's theory than all the contents of the *RGE*.

The methods of the Dissectors of the poems and their results are nowhere more helpful to Professor Murray than in his efforts to build up a proof that the epics were subjected to an agelong process of expurgation. That might almost be said to be essential to his general theory; to Andrew Lang it was its 'corner stone,'[1] and the Professor admits that he makes much use of it. The proof, however, quite fails to carry conviction, and the idea has not been received with favour.[2] Nor is that to be wondered at when the grounds on which it is propounded are carefully examined.

The procedure adopted seems to be an instance of what Professor Shorey has described as the author's 'perpetual defiance to reason,' an attitude to problems of the kind which one is not altogether surprised to find in treatises which are of imagination largely compact. Thus we are to understand that the cleansing of the epics was going on through centuries.[3] Surely then they should have been

[1]Lang's examination of the theory is in pp. 260 ff. of *W of H*, and his last words on p. 187 of the *Oxford Magazine* for 1911.

[2]See, for example, the rejection by Farnell in *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, 19 f.

[3]It is admitted, *RGE*[3] 263 f., that the limits of date during which expurgation went on are 'hard to determine.' Impossible would apparently have been the better word.

brought to and maintained in a condition of almost perfect purity. But that result was very far from accruing; on the contrary, horrors remained in the poems. *That* can easily be explained; it was because expurgation was 'baffled.' Even the *Odyssey*, of course a late poem and composed at a time when public taste with its long training must have been at its best, contains some very bad doings. *That* again, it is readily explained, is because it was 'less rigorously' cleansed. And this makes one wonder; the adverb surely implies something like persistent, strong endeavour which would not easily be baffled. And again, in dealing with a particular blot, say a detestable vice, it can be assumed not only that it was prevalent in Greece at an early date, but also that it would as a matter of course have its place in the epic while in the making. As it is not to be found in the completed *Iliad*, that is because it has been purged away. This seems all far from satisfactory.

And, stranger still, the good public taste that purified the epics, or would have purified them if it could, was not only baffled but had given up the attempt by classical times. The horrors rejected in early ages were quite palatable to the Athens of the great Tragedians. And, as Andrew Lang has pointed out, *W of H* 270, the Cyclics were not purged. How could they escape? And two more remarks must be added. There is the greatest vagueness as to who the actual expurgators were, there being apparently no reference in classical literature to them or their work. The squeamishness of the Alexandrian critics is surely beside the point. See p. 217 *post*. Further, the expurgating agency had one of the strange characteristics of the interpolators and plagiarists and diaskeuasts of the German Higher Criticism, that is, they failed to obliterate their tracks. Instead, they made a mess of the text, and consequently left indications from which Professor Murray tries, and with but poor success, to restore it to its original condition.

It might further be noticed that it has been maintained—by the Rev. St. Clair Tisdall for instance, in *Why I am not a Higher Critic*, p. 14—that alteration of traditional books is contrary to experience. They are reverenced, as Professor Murray somewhere says the *Iliad* was. The Rig-Veda and the Qur'an are instanced as supplying evidence. It is surely

what one would expect. But it must have been quite different in ancient Greece.

The theory of expurgation must be judged by the instances adduced to support it. A number of these are examined in the review in the *TLS* of March 26th, 1908, p. 99, and others in Andrew Lang's *W of H*, pp. 260-80. See also pp. 212 ff. *post*. I think it must be said that the evidential value of all is of the slightest.

For a case of incest which is utilized, see now, in addition to what is said of it p. 212 *post*, 'The Genealogy of Arete and Alkinoos' in *CR* xxxix 145 f. If ever there was a Homeric mare's nest, this seems to be one.

As another instance, the matter of poisoned arrows has two pages devoted to it as evidence of expurgation. Arrows used in warfare in very early days were poisoned, but not in heroic times; by then poison had come to be regarded as 'treacherous, ungentlemanly, a weapon for low barbarians, not for heroes.'[1] But that it was formerly in use can be gathered from certain expressions descriptive of the horrible nature of wounds from arrows. These wounds were very unpleasant, but we may depend upon it that they were much worse in earlier days. For there are obvious traces in the poems in spite of the cleaning up of the text. The evidence, however, is not convincing. The meaning of πικρός, for example, has to be forced. And anything that can be argued from it for arrows can be argued from ὀξύς and ὀξυόεις for spears. Another word, ἄφυκτος, not in Homer, is given a signification that the lexicons do not recognize. The epithet in στονόεντα βέλη is utilized. But the expression is used of spears. That, especially combined with ὀξύς and ὀξυόεις, tends to prove that those weapons also were poisoned. 'The same thought explains why Erôs is generally armed with arrows, not with a great spear.' Erôs, the beautiful boy, with an ὄβριμον ἔγχος! The weapon seems unsuitable. The evidence of 'cleaning up' is far from convincing.[2]

In connection with this subject there is some matter in the note on p. 263 of *RGE*[3] which I fail to understand. 'The *Iliad*, on the other hand, was the "mirror of chivalry,"

[1]But it is assumed—or argued—that the arrow that caused the wound of Menelaus in Δ was poisoned. This should have been expurgated. The explanation is, it must be supposed, that expurgation was baffled.

[2]The matter of the arrows is dealt with by Lang, *W of H*, 278.

a recognized instrument of moral education because it represented an idealized heroic age. Agamemnon in the *Iliad* could not sacrifice Iphigeneia,' and so on. Any such abomination would be cut out of such an instrument. But Agamemnon could steal away Briseis from Achilles in very unchivalrous fashion, and the deed was allowed to stand. Worse than that, far worse, and perhaps as vile as anything in Homer, is Agamemnon's statement to Chryses of what his daughter's fate was to be till old age should overtake her. I have often marvelled how this shameful passage was allowed to stand in a poem that was being constantly cleaned up to maintain it as an instrument of moral education. The more one ponders this device of expurgation, the greater one's puzzlement.

The subject of archaizing in the poetry is also found serviceable. It is briefly referred to pp. 240 f. *post*.[1] In *RGE*[3] it is discussed on pp. 120 ff; and the tone adopted suggests to one familiar with the argumentation of the book that its author is making the best of a bad case. That case is that the Homeric poets 'are with conscious art depicting a past age, an idealized past.'[2] This is 'certain,' and he notes, regretting almost with a sigh the depravity of present Homeric study, that attempts are still 'far too common'—in a naughty world—to prove that the Homeric picture of the heroic age is the work of a poet describing the ways of his own time. That being so, the matter must now be settled authoritatively, and it is pointed out once for all that this foolish current idea—it is the view of 'a critic as good as Andrew Lang,' and of other competent scholars—is 'definitely disproved,' no less, 'by a curious difference between the narrative' parts of the epic, in which we have 'the complete heroic world,' and the similes, in which we have 'the poet's own work-a-day world,' and evidence is collected from similes derived from food, garlands, riding and the trumpet.

The two first provide the bulk of the evidence, of which in regard to food much is cited to show that in the narrative feeding is confined to heavy meals of 'unspeakable' roasted

[1]Some references will be found in Chap. xxiii of *L of D*. The only authority so far as I know who has dealt with the subject fully is Andrew Lang in *H and A*, 1 ff. He objects strenuously to the view so positively stated in the *RGE*.

[2]Also 'the picture of the past is constructed with wonderful consistency.' Surely not only a wonderful but even unimaginable result from the working at the poems through many ages of one knows not how many minds.

'flesh of ox or sheep or boar,' the heroes 'not condescending to boiled meat, much less to fish, fowl, or vegetable, milk or cheese.' In the similes, however, there is 'quite a lot'—one of these familiar touches that may impress on the careless reader the cheerful mood of the writer as he strides along from one success to another—about fishing, catching birds, etc. But if he had not been in too great a hurry to reflect, I think he might have discovered that there is another obvious explanation of the abundance of matter of the kind. The poet has to describe the pursuit and the wounding and killing of enemies, and Professor Murray will not blame him for that. He has also a fondness for adorning his poetry with similes, and the Professor will not blame him for that either. If then he is to illustrate such pursuits and captures and killings, or the stringing up of unfaithful servitors, how can he do it better than by having recourse to the killing and capturing of beasts and fishes and the snaring of birds? Indeed we might ask how he is to indulge his propensity for similitudes at all. Really we may cease to wonder that there are 'quite a lot' of such descriptions in similes.

But it is simply not the fact that unheroic foods are confined to similes. There are numerous mentions in the narrative, as any work on the *Realien* will show. There are descriptions of orchards and vegetable gardens and their produce. There are, even in the *Iliad*, such unheroic articles of food as an onion, a cheese, an edible shellfish.[1] In the narrative of the *Odyssey* people sup on γαστέρες—'sausage-like compositions' Miss Clerke calls them—they keep geese, they hunt hares and deers for their flesh, and so on. There is no need whatever to argue different ages. The poet simply distinguishes between classes of the society known to him—the masses, the πληθύς, whose meals he has little occasion to describe, and the heroes, who as a matter of course have the best available. But even at the heroes' meals, as Professor E. A. Gardiner, observes,[2] surely with reason, there may of course have been accessories which the poet does not think it necessary to mention and which consequently do not figure in his narrative.

Next as to garlands, we are to understand they were not

[1] For the sarcasm of Patroclus in Π 747 is *not* a simile. And many would demur to classing as such the description in τ 113, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῦς.

[2] *Universal History of the World*, ii 847.

in use in the heroic world, but are 'referred to in metaphors freely,' and no fewer than six passages are quoted. We turn to them, expecting to find metaphors from feasters and others roystering in the work-a-day world, but we are sorely disappointed. In one στέφανος is mentioned, but only the στέφανος πολέμοιο, and whether the reference there is to a garland or some other encircling medium no one can say. In the other five passages there is a metaphorical use of the verb στεφανόω. Of the use of στέφανοι there is not a trace. This is bad enough. What is worse is that there is no reference in the Professor's statement to either the στεφάναι of Σ 597, or the epithet ἐυστέφανος, both of which occur in narrative. The certainty to which Professor Murray thinks he has attained, and the 'definite disproof' of the view he condemns, must thus be denied him. We have simply an instance—the habit is 'far too common' with the Homeric school to which he belongs—of the use of strong language to eke out poverty of material, and of hasty inference. In the present matter it seems it would have been relevant to consider what opportunities the poem gives for referring to the work-a-day world in the general narrative, and in what proportion of the hundreds of similes it is the work-a-day world that is taken for comparison.

Considering the Professor's dependence on a discredited and outworn system of criticism and his failure in respect of expurgation and archaizing, one must suggest that there is little left in support of his general thesis. What remains as evidence of anything abnormal in the origin of the poems?

In the *Times* of March 9th, 1927, 'G.M.' in the course of an obituary notice of Dr. Leaf, refers to a controversy between that scholar and an opponent—not named—and observes that it 'left the impression that the attacker was a clever man feverishly eager to establish a particular thesis, while Leaf was looking at the problems before him as he would look at a practical problem in business, trying seriously and reasonably to find the true state of affairs.' I cannot myself see that this is an accurate description of the procedure in *H and H*,[1] to which the controversy doubtless related. Indeed the attacker, whoever he may have been, might have fairly retorted with a *tu quoque*, for I think there

[1] See note on p. 180, *ante*.

is ample proof in the essays on *H and H* in the present volume that conclusions are reached with undue speed. Readers can judge for themselves. But what I wish to remark here is just this, that I can recall reflecting at the time how well this description by 'G.M.' applied to the argumentation in the *RGE*, and as my reasons for so thinking have only grown stronger since then, I will close this prefatory note by stating some of them.

All through there is undue haste in procuring evidence. It has been seen how readily the results of German separatist criticism are assimilated. This applies to the instances of so called expurgation; hardly one bears examination. Or refer above to the treatment of food and garlands in similes. Again, there are errors that even a little more careful reading would have avoided. For example, in the discussion of the two similes in *O* 618-629 there are the *three* mistakes pointed out on pp. 226 f. *post*,[1] with which see the contradiction set out by Professor Shorey on p. 240 on *CP* vi. Yet again, in the *Oxford Magazine* for 1911, p. 157, in his final bout with Andrew Lang, when in need of some support for his extreme position in regard to the Pisistratean Commission, he attributes to Carl Rothe a view which no one acquainted with that scholar's work could ever have imagined him entertaining, and which that scholar at once repudiated. Or take the astonishing assertion, on which see p. 216 *post* and Professor Scott in *CJ* 1915-6, that there are no instances of the φθόνος θεῶν in Homer, or another, for which see p. 212 *post*, on the strength of two references in Greek Tragedy, that a certain version of the Dragging of Hector 'on the whole'—whatever that qualification may mean—'dominated the tradition.' The Professor's eagerness even betrays him into the inclusion of what seems to be mere puerility. I venture to apply that description to his discussion (see p. 213 *post*) of *N* 567 ff. and a similar passage in the *Odyssey*. Also his discovery of a 'peculiar woman-ignoring atmosphere' in the *Iliad*. On this see Mr. Sheppard in *CR* xxvi 261, and p. 217 *post*. I do not know that any one besides the author of the notion has had more than a smile for it. And if anything of the kind could be established, would it be

[1]See Shorey on the Logic of the Homeric Simile in *CP* xvii, for a criticism of the general attitude to the similes in the *RGE*.

passing strange in the story of a war in a foreign land? One might place in the same category his dictum that the subject of the *Iliad* is second-rate. Here surely, had he stopped to reflect, is an instance of the fallacy which he somewhere reprobates as Andrew Lang did, of neglecting the poet's audience. It is not easy to see how anyone could deliberately affirm that any part of the content of the poem would be other than welcome to an audience of the fighters and adventurers of early Greece for whom the story was originally told, whether as a whole, or in parts that became a whole.

These are instances of carelessness of fact and extreme views induced by undue eagerness to prove the general thesis. It also leads him to express in very decided language, ὡς ἐκ τριπόδος, conclusions which are highly contestable. For example, the Professor deems it 'much the most likely thing' that the *Iliad* is a traditional book, and expends much learned labour on proving that its origin and growth were much like those of other books of the kind. But his critics have reminded him that, when recourse is had to analogy, the Pentateuch and similar works are not in point. What they ask for is one instance in which a great poem[1] has been the outcome of such an age-long process as he conceives. Not only is there no such, but it has been shown that such an origin for a poetical masterpiece is impossible. See Andrew Lang's Introduction to the English Translation of Comparetti's *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*. It is an extraordinary thing that in a work with the aims of the *RGE* there should be, so far as I can discover, no reference to that treatise.

One wishes one could be as sure of anything produced in support of the theory as the author of it seems to be of everything that seems to tell in his favour. In estimating the value of the matters relied on one should note the expressions employed, and then, warned by experience, test any point that is strengthened by 'of course,' 'it is certain,' or even 'I suspect' or 'I think,' or 'we may fairly suppose' (p. 105 *ante*). For a striking instance I refer to *RGE*[3] 127. 'Take another case equally clear,' but when one refers to the case a few lines above, we find it is far from 'clear,' for the proof

[1]For, in spite of the many defects he points out in it, he regards it as 'the greatest poem that ever sounded on the lips of men.'

involves 'perhaps' and 'I think'. It is hard to excuse such a consequence of haste. It may be added that both the cases in question are examined in pp. 212 ff. *post* and found to be of an extremely weak character.

And here one other matter may be mentioned. It is not uncommon for the propounders of a new Homeric notion to try to find evidence in support of it, when that is not abundant, by squeezing Greek words and expressions out of their hitherto accepted meanings, and fitting them with new ones—not mentioned in our lexicons—to suit the new idea. Some of these seem to claim a knowledge of Greek that the ancients did not possess. Leukas-Ithaka and its brood were notorious in this respect. See pp. 80 ff. *ante*, for some fifteen instances of such maltreatment of words. It is the same in the discussions in the *RGE*. Two distortions of the signification of words have been noticed above in connection with Poisoned Arrows. For interpretations of *περίδυσε* and *κεφαλή* see pp. 214 f. *post*. For those of *ὀλολυγή*, *ὑπόσχεσις* and *ὑπέσχετο*, *ἀρητήρ* and *ἐδαΐζετο* there is nothing to be said.

These are specimens of the blemishes due to mere failure to pause and appraise the evidence calmly and judicially. It is a too active imagination that is responsible for this. That is undoubtedly a faculty that is of service in Homeric enquiry, if carefully controlled and not allowed to steal away the brains, but one which in the *RGE* is given too great freedom; there is too much tendency to give local habitation to airy speculations. The procedure is far from scientific. 'Too much uncritical dogma and too little scientific distrust' is Dr. Farnell's verdict.[1] Uninformed, undiscerning readers of the work, incapable of separating the unvouched and imaginary from the actual and dependable, are easily led astray by the charm of the writing, its author becoming to them as they read 'all angel on the outward side.' There is a consensus that the book is delightful reading, but it is a book by 'a best-humoured man with a worst-humoured muse,' a book full of sweet unreasonableness. A sound contribution to the study of Homer it cannot, I submit, be deemed.

[1] *Year's Work*, 1913, 129. For a criticism of the ways of the school to which the author of the *RGE* belongs, see Professor Mackail's 'Penelope in the Odyssey,' 4 f.

THE KATHARSIS OF HOMER

EXTRACT FROM CW VIII (1915)

THE first horror is the practice, *inter Christianos haud nominandum*, associated with Sodom and Gomorrah. 'Homer has swept this whole business, root and branch, out of his conception of life'—which is merely strong language to compensate for want of evidence. The proof adduced is the 'silence of Homer' about Ganymede in *E* 266 and *Y* 231, which is begging the question, and Professor Murray's interpretation of περ in Ω 130. I find no support for his extortion of so much meaning from the particle. Apart from it, the argument amounts to this—the vice must have had its place in the poetry once upon a time; Professor Murray is sure it must. It is not there now (except as indicated by that telltale περ which has somehow been overlooked): so it has been swept sway by Homer or the Homeric spirit. Such reasoning leaves us entirely sceptical.

Next, in the *Odyssey*, we have the incestuous marriage of Alkinoos and Areté, brother and sister. The expurgator, offended by this, inserted a genealogy which, 'in confused language,' makes out that the pair were uncle and niece. But he not only bungled the matter; he also left in the poems the objectionable cases of Zeus and Hera, and of the sons and daughters of Aeolus. How he suffered these to stand betwixt the wind and his gentility, and only took exception to the irregularity among the remote Phaeacians, who are described as 'near to' the gods who practise this *incestum* among themselves, is not explained.

Cruel and barbarous practices were also banned by the progress of refinement. Thus, in the *Iliad*, Hector's corpse is dragged behind Achilles' chariot. This is so bad that Professor Murray says (the idea being as extravagant as it is novel), that 'Achilles' repentance is the main theme of the last two books of the *Iliad*.' Yet expurgation allowed it to stand! But the Homeric spirit was not inactive, for we are to believe that 'a far worse story had really been handed down by the tradition,' a story that Hector was dragged while still alive. The proof is to be found in the 'rude unexpurgated

saga' as vouched for by Sophocles (*Ajax*, 1031), Euripides (*Androm.* 399), and Vergil (*Aen.* ii 273). On the basis of these most scanty references in literature, only the first of which is at all explicit, Professor Murray has the hardihood to affirm that this version 'on the whole dominated the tradition.' 'But Homer will have none of it.' He must have known it. Why? Because Professor Murray requires such knowledge for his argument. The probability that the more cruel version was a later development is quietly ignored.

It is said that there is no torture in the *Iliad*, but in one case 'an older poet' had described 'a particularly dreadful wound with, possibly, a certain gusto' (*N* 567 ff.). This, we are to believe, was one of those pieces of brutality which the later softer Homeric spirit could not tolerate. Yet it was not expurgated away. There it still stands! Expurgation only inserted an 'inorganic line,' that is, one which 'can be added or left out with no effect upon the grammar or continuity.' One is accustomed to juggling with 'inorganic lines' in Homeric criticism, but here one can only ask in amazement if Professor Murray has read the passage. The line (*N* 573), which runs ὣς ὁ τυπεὶς ἤσπαιρε μίννυθά περ, οὔ τι μάλα δήν, follows a simile and is followed by two lines from which it cannot possibly be disjoined. The line is as 'organic' as any in the *Iliad*. There is evidently some very sad mistake here.

The *Odyssey*, though a poem of peace, has more horrors than the *Iliad*. How they have been allowed to stand is not explained. The point is not settled, the question is only begged, by the remark that the *Odyssey* 'is less rigorously cleaned up.' The poem contains one notable scene of torture, that in which retribution overtakes the goatherd and the wanton maids. The latter are hung up by a rope. So far, Professor Murray 'thinks,' the older poet. Then comes what he calls the 'saving line,' in much the same terms as the one just quoted from the *Iliad*, and the conclusion is, 'the torture of women was unpleasant even to an audience which approved the cruelty to the goatherd.' What, then, has been expurgated? The horror is still there. Professor Murray evidently feels certain that the description was in worse terms in the earlier version. Of course he can know nothing about it. But worse than that is the absurdity of his asking us to believe that this description was modified in deference

to a purer spirit, while the revolting details of the mutilation of the goatherd, which follow immediately on the above scene and are as horrible as anything in Homer, were left there in their naked barbarity.

Returning to the *Iliad*, Professor Murray gives us another case which, with superlative confidence, he describes as 'equally clear.' Custom allowed the Homeric warrior to take his slain foeman's armour. Then, if he wanted to 'add a sting of outrage to the spoiling, he tore the dead man's tunic and left him naked.' This practice, for the existence of which Professor Murray follows Dr. Leaf, is based on *B* 416, *Λ* 100 and *P* 841, and the proof is so weak that he has recourse to the usual expedient—the practice has been 'for the most part expurgated out of the poem.' In fact the practice is not established. Assuming it, however, Professor Murray applies it to *N* 439 f. There Idomeneus spears a man in the middle of his breast, *ῥῆξεν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ χιτῶνα χάλκεον, ὅς οἱ πρόσθεν ἀπὸ χροὸς ἤρκει ὄλεθρον* The last line has been added, we are told, to get rid of one instance of a cruel practice—three references to which, be it observed, were allowed to remain in the poem—and Professor Murray knows this from the fact that the added line converts the tunic into a tunic of bronze. The answer to that is not difficult, but I will not lengthen the discussion by going into it. It is sufficient to point out the remarkable situation which is the result of Professor Murray's excision. Idomeneus then spears his man and tears his tunic, and tears it off—of course stripping of the armour in order to get at it —while the victim still stands on his legs! For *δούπησεν δὲ πεσών* comes later (442). Nothing more need be said on this case.

Next comes the instance in *Λ* 99-100. Agamemnon has slain two Trojans. Then, *καὶ τοὺς μὲν λίπεν αὖθι . . . στήθεσι παμφαίνοντας, ἐπεὶ περίδυσε χιτῶνας.* Professor Murray says, 'Agamemnon has slain some men,' and adds, in his eagerness to prove his point, 'and taken their armour.' But there is not a word to this effect in the text. If that is to be argued, it must be argued on 99-100, but Professor Murray settles it before he comes to these lines. The lines themselves have been discussed by many authorities, the latest, apparently Mr. Keene in *CR* xxiv 84, and it is unnecessary to

reproduce the points in the strife. That the chitons here are the bronze chitons or corselets is at least as likely as Professor Murray's view that Agamemnon (of all men!) is made by an expurgator 'reverently' or 'decently' to draw the dead men's tunics over them. It need only be added that for the debatable phrase there is a variant reading *ἐπεὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀπηύρα*, which Monro thinks 'may well be the true reading' and which Leaf and Bayfield admit to the text. Professor Murray's discussion of the passage is remarkable for the calm assertion that the meaning of *περιδύω* in later Greek, which is inconvenient for his argument, was fixed by misinterpretation of the Homeric passage! Anything to make out a case.

There is one more instance from the battlefield, supplied to Professor Murray by Mr. Thomson. This is the decapitation of a slain enemy, and, as usual, the Professor's statement of the case supplies instances which, very strangely, have not been expurgated out of the poem. Now in *Σ* 334 f., Achilles, addressing the dead Patroclus, says *οὔ σε πρὶν κτεριῶ, πρίν γ' Ἕκτορος ἐνθάδ' ἐνεῖκαι τεύχεα καὶ κεφαλήν.* Mr. Thomson 'thinks that in the original story Achilles carried out his threat.' For in *Ψ* 24 ff., Achilles 'devised upon god-like Hector hideous deeds' and did—nothing. So Mr. Thomson 'cannot get away from the impression that something objectionable has been left out.' But first, he and Professor Murray are wrong in taking *κεφαλή* in *Σ* 335 to mean 'head' only. The word is there used, as in other places, *de toto homine*. In *Ω* 276 and 579, for instance, the words *Ἑκτορέης κεφαλῆς* (the equivalent of *Ἕκτορος κεφαλῆς*) do not mean 'Hector's head.' But better still see *Φ* 336 where we have as in our passage *τεύχεα* and *κεφαλή* combined and there as Leaf says '*κεφαλάς* virtually = "persons."' Just so in our line in *Σ*. But more. Has Mr. Thomson read the passage in *Ψ*? Achilles in line 21 assures Patroclus that Hector's corpse is to be given to the dogs to devour, and the poet, resuming from the speech, says in line 23, 'he spake and devised on Hector *ἀεικέα ἔργα*.'[1] But Mr. Thomson must have something still more *ἀεικές*

[1]Would Mr. Thomson find it impossible to get away from the impression that some grosser *μῦθος* thus been expurgated away after, for instance, A 326, *ὣς εἰπὼν πρόΐει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν*?

than giving the corpse as a feast to the dogs, and believes that, while that reference was left in, a simple decapitation was cut out. Tastes in such matters differ, of course, but surely in this case Mr. Thomson's has led him astray.

In his own book—*Studies in the Odyssey*—Mr. Thomson adds two cases to the list. In the *Iliad*, Dolon, going out as a spy by night, wraps a wolf's skin about his body. In the *Rhesus*, he converts himself into a wolf in external appearance, and in art he is shown as so disguised. So 'one is bound to suppose,' says Mr. Thomson, that this latter was part of the original tradition, and that Homer expurgates it as a grotesqueness very alien, 'one feels at once,' to the general tone of the *Iliad*. One is bound to suppose that the later version which might easily develop from Homer's simple wolfskin, is the earlier, simply because Mr. Thomson wills it so.

This is obviously an aesthetic expurgation. The other instance is of Professor Murray's genuinely ethical kind. It is 'the absence in Homer of all apparent traces of that belief in the jealousy of the gods (*φθόνος τῶν θεῶν*) which is something like a dogma for the rest of Greek literature.' The Homeric spirit abhorred it, but it survived and was popular! But are there no traces in the epics of this grudging, on the part of the *θεοὶ ζηλήμονες*, of earthly bliss or superiority? There is something very like it in *P* 448 ff. and *H* 451 ff., and there is the thing itself in Penelope's *θεοὶ δ' ὤπαζον ὀιζύν, οἳ νῶϊν ἀγάσαντο κ.τ.λ.*(*ψ* 210 ff.). The expurgator could not have overlooked that clear instance. But how are we to believe in an ethical agency that strained at the jealousy of the gods and swallowed all the other low elements of the divine nature as it appears in Homer? We know what Xenophanes thought of the heavenly morality, and the moderns have agreed with him. A recent authority describes Homer's picture of the celestial morals as a 'most appalling conception,' and expurgation must have been but a weak and wayward influence to wink at it.

And so on. The catalogue of horrors which were expelled from the epic or left in it in such a haphazard way does not deserve more space. Professor Murray goes on to poisoned arrows and builds a theory on the word *πικρός*, which he translates 'bitter' while all the Homeric lexica which I have

consulted render it 'sharp.' As to the taboo of women in the *Iliad*, and the epithet *κάρη κομόωντες*, as signifying that the Achaean warriors were 'votaries' who must abstain from love, we have only, with Andrew Lang, to read the poem. And compare Mr. Sheppard in *CR* xxvi 261.

The whole theory has in fact no foundation. The instances are all either absurd or forced, and no one can have any regard to it who is not prepared to ascribe evidential value to Professor Murray's assertion that there has been expurgation or to Mr. Thomson's 'feelings' and 'impressions.' The former, in the second edition of the *RGE*, has sought support for his hypothesis in the flat and unprofitable atheteses made by the Alexandrians on account of *τὸ ἀπρεπές*. 'The process of expurgation was still active,' he says, though there is not a sign anywhere that these critics believed themselves to be continuing an ancient system of purification. These excisions of theirs have mostly been laughed at by modern authorities, and we are never likely to waste more on them than Cobet's last word, *in Ptolemaei regia etiam fastidiosis foeminarum auribus erat consulendum*. That a certain spirit in early Greece developed a like squeamishness is a mere resource of despair, and I think it has been shown above that the exposition of that spirit's working, so far as it is based on the Homeric text, is a mere darkening of the issue by discussions without knowledge.

P.S.—Mr. Thomson reverts to the subject of the Jealousy of the Gods in his new work *The Art of the Logos*.

SUSPECTED FLAWS IN HOMERIC SIMILES

CP VI (1911)

NOTHING in the Homeric poems has been the theme of more consistent praise than the similes with which the narrative is adorned. To some eminent authorities the beauty and perfect appositeness of these figures, and the power and richness of the imagination to which we owe them, have appealed so strongly, that they have seen in these phenomena one of the best proofs of unity of authorship. So Nitzsch

Beiträge 339, Mure *Hist. Gr. Lit.* ii 89 ff., O. Jäger *Homer u. Horaz* 73 f., 115 ff., and others. Mr. Green, *The Similes of Homer's Iliad* 30, tells us that his 'consideration of the similes left him more than ever what he was before—a believer in one great poet Homer.' The dissector of the poems, on the other hand, while he cannot but admit the supreme excellence, in this respect, of the agency or combination of agencies which he styles 'Homer,' is led by certain characteristics of the similes which he believes he has discovered to a conclusion confirmatory of his view of the multiple origin of the epics. To state some considerations which may assist the settlement of this difference of opinion is the object of the present paper.

To begin with, trouble has arisen from repetition. First, there is repetition of the subject-matter of the simile. The same object is employed over and over again for the sake of illustration—the sun or a star, the lion, the boar, a pillar, leaves, trees, snow, torrents, and the like. But there is nothing in that. It might be said, in varying degree, of poets generally who delight in this figure of speech. It can be said of Firdausi. A reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, No. 4131, p. 823, notes that it is a 'characteristic of the epic style and in keeping with its simplicity.' It is very marked in the *Idylls of the King*. If we classify the similes in that poem, we find eleven are taken from gems, eight from leaves, the same number from the dog and from ghosts, and so on. Similes are in Wordsworth's words, 'loose types of things through *all* degrees,' and it is only natural that poets should have their preferences, and should love to dwell on some departments of nature and human life more than others.

But, secondly, we have repetition of phraseology. In the numerous lion similes, for instance, the same phrases are used to describe the animal's hunger, the object of his attack, the men and dogs who resist him, and the way in which they foil and smite him. In fact it can be shown that the similes have a commonplace, or, as the Germans style it, a *Gemeingut*, of their own. That will surprise no one who is familiar with the extent and character of the Homeric repetitions generally. Indeed it supplies an argument for unity. The professional dissector of the poems, on the other hand, is inclined to see in this recurrence of phraseology the

imitation or plagiarism which he finds everywhere in the epics, and which he regards as an important factor in their development.

But, thirdly, there is repetition of the simile. An image used to illustrate a situation or incident in one part of the poems recurs bodily in another passage, with hardly a change of a line except at the beginning or the end of the description. And this is held to negative absolutely the idea of unity of authorship. Dr. Leaf (on *O* 263 ff., which is the famous simile, repeated from *Z* 506 ff., of the horse breaking from his stable and galloping across the plain to the river) challenges the defenders of the unity of the *Iliad* to say 'how a single "Homer" could have thus repeated his own best passages, careless of their appropriateness.' The allegation in the last four words will receive attention farther on.

In dealing with this third point, it is necessary that we obtain an accurate idea of the number of instances to be found in the two epics. They are fewer than dissectors sometimes assume, and too few, we hope to show, to support the conclusion which they seek to draw. If we take a fairly full enumeration, such as that given by Friedländer in his *Zwei hom. Wörterverz.* 786 ff., we find there are in the *Iliad*, 182 similes of some extent, 17 comparatively short, and 27 of the very briefest. For the *Odyssey* the figures are 39, 6, and 13 respectively. The reasons for the difference in this respect between the two epics are well ascertained, and need not detain us.

If, now, we examine this list with the aid of any edition which gives parallel passages, we find there are hardly a score in which there is repetition of the *ipsissima verba*. And a number of these are of the very shortest, as ἐρεμνῇ (κελαινῇ) λαίλαπι ἶσοι and φλογὶ εἴκελος ἀλκήν. They are paralleled by Tennyson's 'like fire,' 'like a ghost,' or 'like a star,' or by Firdausi's brief and recurring comparisons of a hero to a lion or a crocodile, or of life to a short stay in a roadside inn. Nothing is to be inferred from such cases.

Those which remain appear to be *Z* 506 ff. and *O* 263 ff., Paris (and Hector) compared to a horse that breaks from the stable; *Λ* 548 ff. and *P* 657 ff., Aias (and Menelaus) retreating slowly like a baffled lion; *N* 389 ff. and *Π* 482 ff., Asios (and Sarpedon) falling like a poplar or pine; *E* 782 f. and *H*

256 f., the Achaeans (and Aias and Hector) compared to lions or boars; *I* 14 f. and *Π* 3 f., Agamemnon (and Patroclus) weeping like a spring of dark water; δ 45 f. and η 84 f., of the palace of Menelaus (and Alcinous); ζ 229 ff. and ψ 156 ff., of the beautification of Odysseus by Athené; and δ 535 and λ 411, of the murder of Agamemnon.

There thus seem to be just eight cases worthy of attention What is the explanation of the duplication? Some dissectors affirm that it is due to plagiarism. ' Late' contributors to the poems appropriated a predecessor's work. Others think that two contributors, at different periods, took the same image from a common stock. But in either case, it is surely strange that duplicates are so few—hardly more than are to be found in the *Idylls*. In particular we should expect to find duplication in books which are 'late,' especially if they are fighting books—for it is in books of battle that similes most abound. *M*, for example, is a fighting book, and it is also late, being an 'Expansion' and 'Ionian.' But it has 10 fine similes, all original. Dr. Leaf says they are 'on the whole the most elaborate and beautiful in Homer.' He does object to three as inappropriate in their setting, and Professor Murray follows him. We hope to show that they have misappreciated all these three similes in *M*. But at least its late Ionian author had not the plagiarist taint. Again, *N* is said to be mostly late and to have been much 'worked over' (*stark überarbeitet*), but of its 15 similes only one recurs, and that one *may* be original in *N*. It certainly suits its setting admirably. *Π* and *P*, which are said to be full of late matter, have 40 similes between them, but only two duplicates. The end of *P*, from 543, is said to be 'very late.' It contains 9 splendid similes, only one of which is found elsewhere, and that one (657 ff.) as we shall see, is considered by 'most editors' to be original in *P*. It is very difficult, in view of such instances and figures, to accept the explanation from imitation or borrowing, whether from a predecessor or a common stock.

To sustain such a theory, it would be necessary for its advocates to prove, beyond doubt, that in such cases the recurring simile is in one of its occurrences unsuitable to the context and borrowed. This can seldom, if ever, be shown. But till that is done, we are entitled to accept the duplicated image as original in both cases. The burden of proof is on

him who seeks to eject. When we examine the critical literature of the subject, we find in every case, either that there is so little to go upon that no authority seriously asserts plagiarism, or that there is a decided conflict of opinion. We have space for only two well-known cases, both of which are discussed by Dr. Leaf.

The first case, the famous simile in *Z* 506 ff. and *O* 263 ff., has already been quoted, with Dr. Leaf's conclusion from it. As applied to Paris in *Z*, he approves of it highly. In *O*, 'inserted to illustrate not the exuberant beauty, but merely the speed of Hector,' it 'loses much of its force.' It is 'a clear plagiarism of a passage whose intrinsic beauty marked it out for plunder.' A single Homer could not have 'thus repeated his own best passages, careless of their appropriateness.' Is it certain then that this simile is appropriate only in *Z*? It is not. The authorities are not agreed. See Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang* to *O* 263. Some critics concur with Aristarchus in objecting to the simile in *O*. Düntzer (*Hom. Abh.* 501) is one. Mr. Green (*op. cit.* 227) also says briefly and not very decisively that the simile 'seems to suit Paris better.' Christ (*Wiederholungen* 262, and *Iliad* 64) evidently had difficulty in deciding, and he, it should be noted, holds it as proved (*pro explorato habeo*, *Iliad* 22) that the poet did not hesitate to do what to other critics is unthinkable, that is, to use a simile a second time. Geddes again (*Problem* 208 f.) is satisfied with Blackie that 'the application to Hector is the older and primary one,' and adds the shrewd remark that δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας 'is more appropriate regarding the resuscitated Hector than the skulking Paris.' But we must not press the particulars of a Homeric comparison. That the simile is suitable of Paris no one can deny. But surely it is just as appropriate of Hector, ἄσμενος ἐκ θανάτοιο, restored to life and vigour by Apollo (who ἔμπνευσε μένος μέγα ποιμένι λαῶν), and exulting in and employing his newly recovered strength to repair by rapid movement about the ranks the fortunes of his side. Paris had simply put on his armour and hurried across the Trojan plain. But all this wrangling over small details is futile. Granting, as Christ does for Homer, that a poet may reproduce a passage that pleases him, it is idle to expect that it shall be, beyond all possibility of cavil, as apposite in one place as in the other. It is enough

for our purpose, in the present case, that the critics have failed to prove that the simile is not tolerable in *O*. Till they do so, Dr. Leaf's challenge may be disregarded by 'the defenders of the *Iliad*.'

The other case is *Λ* 548 ff. and *P* 657 ff., of a lion slowly retreating from a fold. Most editors, as Dr. Leaf tells us in a note on the lines in *Λ*, and as may be seen from Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang*, have favoured *P*. Dr. Leaf finds the simile 'very appropriate' in *Λ*. And others will think the same. Either side may be right or wrong, but till the critics agree that the lines are bad in one of the two books, and tell us which that is, there is nothing against unity. The 'bungling' (*stümperhaft*) interpolator, expander, or harmonizer cannot be inferred till bungling is established. And there is the same disagreement as to the other duplicates in our list.

The facts, then, do not suit the thoery of *Flick-Poets* or *Nachdichters* stealing and stumbling. Surely if they were, as is constantly assumed, composers of a very low order, their traces would have been more plentiful. Some extreme interpreters *do* track these spoilers everywhere in the poems, but their more moderate brethren have always condemned their excesses. Kammer (*Ästh. Komm.* 113) does not like such blots on the poems as the comparison, *P* 243 f., of Hector, pervading the battle and urging on his men so that they ἰθὺς Δαναῶν βρίσαντες ἔβησαν, to an overshadowing cloud, or Hera's description of Artemis, *Φ* 483, in the course of a volley of abuse, as 'a lion to women.' Only the late, weak, and imitative poet could be guilty of such absurdities. Others will disagree in these as in other cases of mere subjective appreciation, and will ask for more precise proof. To them the uniform splendour of the Homeric similitudes is unquestioned, and absolutely excludes the hypothesis of a crowd of botchers, or a number of manipulating poets in successive ages. Father Browne (*Handbook* 320) considers that 'Homer's' power in using this figure of speech is 'truly marvellous.' And yet to him the *Iliad* is the composition not of one but of a number of Homers working in different centuries.

So much for repetition in and of the Homeric similes. Another aspect of the case for disruption which is based on this branch of the technique of the poems is given by Pro-

fessor Murray in *RGE* 215 ff. The state of things in old epic days which he conceives is this. There was a great common store of images, on which the contributors to the two poems were at liberty to draw, and different individuals might select the same one from the stock in different ages. When the poems took final shape, a simile which had been thus favoured would remain imbedded in two or more strata. Professor Murray is led to this conclusion by two facts. First, the similes have all 'the same ready-made air,' and secondly, 'a good many of them are not apposite to the case for which they are used.'

The similes are, as we have said, by universal agreement, one of the finest features of the Homeric poems. On no other individual element in the poetry has more praise been lavished by writers of all Homeric creeds. To Jebb (*Homer* 26 ff.) similes are 'an abounding source of variety, vividness, and beauty.' They 'indicate a spontaneous glow of poetical energy.' 'Their occurrence seems as natural as their effect is powerful.' They have helped, Wittich thinks (*Homer in seinen Bildern* 8), to make the poems immortal, and there are those who think they have never been surpassed in the poetry of all the long line of Homer's successors. Professor Murray even seems to agree. He pronounces the similes to be 'the very breath of life of the poetry of Homer.' He can enjoy with others 'their vividness, their closeness of observation, their air of freshness and spontaneity'—an air which hardly consists with a 'ready-made' one—but all these qualities are only apparent. The similes are 'deceptive.' They have only an appearance of originality. 'Nearly all are taken from older books, and many of them were originally written to describe some quite different occasion.' It is a sweeping and, we believe, an absurdly inaccurate statement.

Mülder also (*Quellen* 328 ff.) thinks the Homeric similes are borrowed ornaments, and that they are used for the sake of effect rather than to help the clear presentation of facts. He even argues, in pursuance of his general theory of the origin of the *Iliad*, that in the battle scenes they take the place of tactical and strategical details. But there seems to be little enough to support such a view. It is founded mainly on the observation that the *tertium comparationis* is often vague and the application loose. It may be so; but does the simile ever

suffer in beauty or in illuminating effect? In spite of such defects on the surface the Homeric simile, as Professor Mackail puts it (*Lectures on Greek Poetry* 68), 'reached perfection.' It seems ungracious to disparage such gems on account of some small fault in the setting. It is the weakness of much Homeric criticism that it seeks to bind genius by regulations *de minimis*.

Professor Murray gives several examples from the *Iliad* in support of his theory. They are 'mere illustrations. The force of the argument, of course, depends upon the number of such cases.' This suggests that such cases are numerous. But that cannot be admitted. The instances in which critics believe they have discovered inapposite images seem to be comparatively few. I venture to think Professor Murray finds them numerous because the text has not been carefully studied, and because the way of the poems in regard to the application of similes has not been appreciated as it commends itself to the majority of writers on the subject.

Professor Murray's first three cases are those mentioned by Dr. Leaf in the end of his *Introduction* to *M*. The first is the comparison (*M* 41 ff.) of Hector to a boar or lion, surrounded by hunters. As the beast charges now here, now there, his tormentors give way, and 'even so Hector went and besought[1] his comrades through the press, and spurred them on to cross the dyke, but his horses dared not. . .' Dr. Leaf thinks (*Introduction* to *M*) that the simile was 'meant for Aias retreating slowly with his face to the foe, not for Hector urging on the pursuit,' and Professor Murray follows him. The situation for which it was probably written originally is that of 'a hero left alone, hard pressed by enemies, but refusing to retreat.' But how can it be said that an animal doing his best to escape from a circle of hunters is 'refusing to retreat'? And if the poet *had* compared Aias retreating slowly to a lion that cannot retreat at all, what would the comments of our two authorities have been?

'But,' Professor Murray continues, 'as the passage stands, the Greeks are flying and Hector pursuing them back beyond their wall.' Not at all. Far from representing them as now 'flying,' the poet of *M* (l. 38) conceives them as 'huddled

[1]Lang, Leaf and Myers. Mr. Blakeney gives 'Hector kept turning now here, now there,' accepting the better reading, *εἰλίσσετο* for *ἐλλίσσετο*.

together' in a crowd behind the wall, *νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσιν ἐελμένοι* (*v.l.* *ἐεργμένοι*). And Hector, far from making what Professor Murray calls 'a triumphant advance,' cannot pursue, because he cannot get over the fosse. This is stated at length in 49-59, which immediately follow the picture of the unfortunate animal hemmed in by huntsmen, and what the poet illustrates is the helplessness of Hector and his men. He compares it to the helplessness of a lion or boar against 'fearful odds,' and the eager movements of Hector to the rushes which the beast makes in order to escape. Surely the passage has not been carefully read. Miss Stawell (*H. and I* 53 f.) shows that the point of the simile has been missed 'by pressing the details,' a mistake which, as she truly says 'is not uncommon,' though she herself, it seems to me, is not quite accurate in saying that Hector 'is not at bay, but taking the offensive.' For the moment which the poet illustrates, Hector is not only not taking the offensive, though he would like to do so, but is completely baffled, and as powerless as the lion or the boar.

Next, *M* 131 ff. The whole passage 127-53 should be read. It contains two similes. The Trojans are now at the gate in the wall. In front of it are the two Lapiths, who are compared to two oaks, 131-34. 'A moment after'—in this 'moment' of the poet's narrative, be it observed, nine lines are devoted to the advance of Asios' party—'we are told that they charged and fought like wild boars.' Professor Murray observes scathingly that people who stand firm like oaks are not like wild boars that rush out. He admits that the observation sounds captious. But it seems to be worse. I think it has no foundation in the text. Men who have been like oaks as they stand firm may be appropriately compared to boars *δοχμὼ ἀΐσσοντε* as soon as they move against an advancing enemy. And this is the poet's procedure. There is no difficulty, and we do not require the 'solutions' of Porphyry and Hephaestion. The only possible excuse for misapprehension is to be found in a slight digression—paralleled by Dr. Monro in his note *a.l.*—in which the poet tells us that the Lapiths had been inside the gate till the Trojans advanced, when they rushed out to repel the attack—*ἐκ δὲ τὼ ἀΐξαντε πυλάων πρόσθε μαχέσθην*. The interpretation of Professor Murray could be justified

only if ἔστασαν, 132, could be taken as meaning that the two Lapiths remained motionless through the whole scene, and if we disregarded altogether what the poet tells us, 137-45, about the advance of Asios' division to the gate.

The next example is *M* 167-72. 'Asios, who is leading the Trojan attack, cries out that "these men are like a swarm of bees or wasps who . . . pour out to fight with hunters" That comparison can scarcely have been invented to describe two solitary heroes standing in front of a gate.' This seems to be an incorrect statement. The Lapiths are not stationary. They have charged and are fighting Asios and his company. But what is of more importance is that the poet does *not* say that the two men are like a swarm of bees or wasps. What he actually says is, just as wasps or bees defend their nest, so do these heroes, *though they are but two*, refuse to retire from the gate. The essence of the comparison is the determined defence in the two cases, and the words used of the Lapiths, καὶ δύ' ἐόντε, might well have saved the passage from Professor Murray's interpretation. If the two Lapiths *are* compared to a swarm of bees or wasps, then surely we have a *Stümper* of the first magnitude. Not *facile princeps*, however, for those who (on Professor Murray's principle) compared Odysseus to a haggis in *υ* 25 ff., Penelopé to a lion in *δ* 791 ff., or Aias to an ass in *Λ* 558 ff. (see Finsler *Homer* 498), are at least his equals.

Finally, the two similes in *O* 618-29. Professor Murray says, 'Hector's onset is compared (1) to waves falling on a rock, which stands immovable; (2) to a wave crashing down upon a ship, which is badly shaken; then comes v. 629, "even so was the spirit of the Achaeans shaken within their breasts." I suspect that these two similes come from separate sources; the minstrel felt them to be not quite consistent, so he added vs. 629. It is worth remarking that the five lines just preceding are inconsistent with their present context, and were condemned by Zenodotus and Aristarchus.'

Professor Murray here only indicates suspicion, so it is not necessary to go into this case at length. But it may be observed that the five lines athetized by the Alexandrians are not the five just preceding 629, but 610-14, and it is difficult to see how the athetesis can affect the question. Secondly, it is not stated in the second simile that the ship

was badly shaken. Nor does ἐδαΐζετο in the application of the simile to the hearts of the Achaeans mean 'was shaken,' unless the lexica are wrong. This mistranslation has probably led to the introduction of the shaking of the ship. Thirdly, in the same simile the most important words are passed over. They describe the effect of the storm on the ship and on the sailors. To their terror the poet compares the distress of the Achaeans (ἐδαΐζετο θυμός). He had begun by comparing Hector's onset to the rush of a wave. It is, as Dr. Leaf remarks, 'a two-sided simile.' The poet is led on by a detail in his own picture (a detail not essential to the comparison first instituted, but added, *more Homerico*, to make it more effective), and, in Dr. Leaf's words, 'evolves another comparison from the same picture.' The poet does exactly the same in one of the similes already considered, *M* 146 ff. The κόμπος ὀδόντων of the boar suggests another comparison, 'so clattered the bright bronze on the breasts of the two heroes.' As regards the passage in *O*, much has been written on it since as far back as Heyne's time, but there seems to be nothing wrong with the similes.

These are the cases on which Dr. Leaf and Professor Murray rely. A better and fuller collection might make their position stronger. As at present presented, it seems extremely weak. The trouble seems to have arisen partly from insufficient regard to the Homeric narrative, and partly from a misappreciation of the Homeric way with similitudes—if that way is correctly described in a host of treatises. In a sentence that has often been quoted since, Pope wrote that Homer, 'secure of the main likeness, makes no scruple to play with the circumstances.' See Jebb *op. cit.* 28, and Green *op. cit.* 5 and 21. There is one main point of resemblance—generally a point or crisis in the action (Finsler *Homer* 497); for the rest the poet, 'in the joy of his heart' (Cauer *Grundfragen*[1] 263), gives free rein to his fancy. And the question always should be, 'not so much whether the simile be exact, as whether it be happy and effective' (Mure *op. cit.* ii 92). So van Herwerden (*Mnemos.* xix 239 f.)—we may certainly require that the image be *apta et perspicua*, and so it always is; but as for complete consistency of details, *hoc sane nemo requirat*. A scene is before the poet in every detail. As he proceeds to illustrate it by a word-picture, his imagination

is afire. He revels in details, whether relevant to the comparison or not, that serve to make his presentation of the matter concrete and vivid. When any such feature suggests a new comparison, he seizes it and states it without hesitation. Will anyone find fault with him? Would anyone give up a single detail, or object to the expansion of the simile? There are other instances in Homer, and they have been enumerated by the commentators. Professor Murray admits that there are parallels and that his boar case is not unique. But he thinks it an extreme instance. We cannot see that it is. He finds evidence of the working of him whom the Germans style a *Stümper*. 'The last compiler of *M* found the two similes. Both were too good to lose. He followed the story of the oaks, yet he was reluctant to lose the wild boars. So observe his procedure. He puts in the wild boar, and then, at the end, soothes the imagination of any hearer who is puzzled at the resemblance'—and any such hearer must surely have been as *stümperhaft* as the compiler—'by explaining that the point of similarity lies in the noise. Boars' tusks make a noise, and so do shields struck by spears.' But where is the necessity for dragging in a compiler? The passage is clear and easily interpreted without him. It is the same with all the cases which we have brought under review. On a careful and impartial consideration of the text as it stands, not one of them suggests plurality of authors or the intrusion of a harmonizer or compiler. Only the Homeric pessimist, who is too prone to put the most unfavourable construction on small irregularities, could find reason for such a view.

ANDREW LANG'S WORK FOR HOMER

THE ANDREW LANG LECTURE, 1929, UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS (EXTRACT, PP. 10-27).

Leaf then, like others, had become convinced that German destructive criticism was worthless. A reaction in fact set in, which extended to Germany itself. But the old prejudice in favour of the results of hypercritical and pseudo-critical

disparagement was not dead, and in 1906 Professor Murray published his *RGE*, in which German conclusions are freely accepted.

Lang had difficulty to the end of his life in understanding all the implications of the new theory, which strikes one as being both extensile and convertible, but stated it in an essay in *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1908, as 'the slow growth of the *Iliad*,' as a 'traditional book' through four or five centuries, 'under the hands of numberless minstrels,' among whom might be included, as Professor Murray has since stated, 'three or four supreme poets in their way.' But based as it was on the criticism impugned in *H and E* Lang was of course not enamoured of it. More than that, his *H and A* had been dismissed in the new work as a mere 'sniping at the outposts,' and that did not increase Lang's love for the novelty. He examined it to much purpose in the paper of 1908, and again in his last book, much of which is a running exposure of its weakness. There is little retort in the last edition of the *RGE*. We hear no more of sniping; rather there is the respect due to an adversary who has spiked some of your heavy artillery, and made your position precarious.

Lang's prime objection to the theory, and it is one that has not been because it cannot be answered, is that there is no other instance of a great poem so made, although the same conditions have recurred in the heroic ages of other countries. With mass production, so to call it, you get a *Kalewala*, a *Máhábhárata*, a congeries, not a well-knit whole, showing 'harmony of tone, a preconceived catastrophe, consonance of character and grandeur of style.' Not only so, but Lang agreed with Comparetti in his masterly treatise, *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, a work that does not appear to be noticed by Professor Murray, as to the impossibility of such an origin for a finished artistic literary work. The Professor invokes the Spirit of Greece, 'that curiosity,' as Professor Abercrombie styles it, 'among false ideas.' Lang could hardly speak seriously of this notion of 'the subliminal self of a race.' Professor Murray quotes from a French critic that the author of the *Song of Roland* is Legion. Quite so, Lang replies, in the sense that Homer and Vergil are authors of *Paradise Lost*, or, we might add, that various predecessors of

Milton are of *Lycidas*. 'Every poet,' it has been said, 'has his pedigree.' And the theory, Lang urged, postulates a prolongation of 'intensity of genius,' for some four or five centuries, that is quite unparalleled.

Saga is of course manufactured, manipulated, and propagated by innumerable hands, and it has been charged against the theory that it confuses Saga and Epic, *Lied* and *Epos*, *Materia* and *Compositio*, that is, a story and poetry about it. It is a common and, as Dr. Mackail has said, a deep-seated confusion.

And then contemplate for a moment the unexampled self-denial of these contributory bards. They throw into hotchpot lays that are among the greatest treasures of literature, and an indifferent and ungrateful public does not even preserve their names. Or if it be the Spirit of Greece that is operative, it forgets itself before its work is complete and ascribes its own handiwork to a definitely named personality. A parallel case would be growing poetry in the Middle Ages about the Fall of Man. One poet of power makes for it that ineffably beautiful rhapsody, the Morning Hymn, now embedded in *Paradise Lost*, and another the picture of Athens in her prime that is one of the glories of *Paradise Regained*. Having performed these splendid services to posterity they retire and are never heard of again. And there is in Greece this further difficulty that, when we come to the earliest literature, the *meum* and *tuum* of literary composition are well established. Hesiod is not a syndicate. Arctinus and Stasinus are accepted as personalities, and so on to Archilochus and the rest. But according to the new theory, three or four great poets and a number of others, among whom would be Wilamowitz's Botcher and Bethe's final constructors of both epics, went on moulding the growing accumulation as material was supplied by predecessors who disappeared *ignota nocte*.

And there is one other point. Every poet, and especially every great poet, has his way. It consists of subtle idiosyncrasies, not to be set out in detail, as any one knows who has tried it, without the most searching study, but easily appreciable in their aggregate effect. 'Nobody,' Lang writes, 'could mistake Webster for Shakespeare, Byron for Keats, Coleridge for Scott.' Now the analysers of the Homeric

epics discover numerous contributors, authors of a *Mênis*, a *Presbeia*, a *Tisis*, a *Bogenkampf*, and so on. Something peculiar, something not to the taste of the critic, a difference as to the geography, and the enucleation or delimitation is complete. What they never condescend to is a demonstration that the poets they discover differ from each other as the Homeric corpus from Hesiod and the *Hymns*, or as all three from Apollonius Rhodius or Quintus Smyrnaeus. And yet how easy the task, when we reflect that they lived in different ages, in different parts of Greece, chose different themes, and probably spoke different dialects! The project is forbidden by the consistency of the epics in language and verse, and in the grand stamp that is over all and is the hall-mark of Homeric work.

These objections were in Lang's view sufficient to condemn the theory out of hand, and no doubt its originator had foreseen the necessity for some positive concrete evidence in support of it. This was sought in the notion of Expurgation, that is to say, that the growing poetry had at various stages contained abominations, from cruelty to an enemy to the worst forms of vice, and that it was cleansed of these by later bards of a more gentle temperament. The instances are mostly culled from Leaf's *Iliad*, and we have seen how Leaf came to regard later the German criticism to which he owed them.

I can only state briefly the objections which Lang and others have expressed. There was the difficulty, especially in the absence of information as to expurgatorial agency, of fixing limits of time for the process. Next there was the standing difficulty how, with any kind of manipulation active, the pervading harmony could be produced which even Wolf himself admired in the epics. And then the improving taste; the postulated squeamishness must have declined into utter indifference by the age of the great dramatists, who do not hesitate to include repulsive incidents in their plays. And further, the refining process was feeble, even impotent, for it left some horrors of an odious kind in the poetry—it was 'baffled,' it is explained—and haphazard too, for it removed some objectionable features, while it left other instances of the very same kind untouched. And lastly, in some cases the restoration of the text by modern acumen

to the condition in which it was before it was bowdlerized, only leaves some incongruity or even absurdity.

And the method of proof is very much what Lang had challenged in *H and E*. An inconvenient passage or 'inorganic' line may be disregarded. Words are forced to new meanings to suit the argument. Some of the alleged expurgations are merely puerile. The logic of the treatise has been described as 'a perpetual defiance to reason.' The use of the word 'Homer' often leaves one wondering what can be meant by it. And this theory, with all its weaknesses, was, as Lang described it, the corner-stone of Professor Murray's structure. Lang's invalidation was a great service to Homer, for it is the danger of the book that there is matter in it which, by its mere bulk and the confident tone adopted, may impress those who cannot examine the thesis for themselves, and are merely beguiled by the charm of the writer. It may be said that no one is entitled to pass judgment on the work as a contribution to the elucidation of Homeric origins, unless he can say that he has carefully examined all these alleged expurgations, Homer in hand.

In a final bout between the two antagonists Professor Murray ridiculed as a miracle, a mere impossibility, the composition and preservation of the poems in the early age to which Lang assigned them, that is, the end of the second millennium B.C. That was once a basic difficulty. Fifty years ago Mahaffy could scout the idea of such poems being the product of a dark age with no written records. Monro cautiously described that as an argument *ad ignorantiam*, and our ignorance has in fact changed to intimate acquaintance.

We now know that in that age in the Mediterranean and adjoining countries civilization had existed for centuries, in Egypt and Mesopotamia, in Crete, and even in Asia Minor with its Hittite dominion. For the Iberian Peninsula, while some would belittle its culture, others, as Professor Childe, find there a 'veritable counterpart' of the Aegean civilization. Schulten, another high authority, foresees the day, when Tartessos, the Tarshish of the Bible, in the south-west of the peninsula, shall be proved by excavation to be a far western replica of Knossos and Mycenae. Nor need we be surprised at the character of the civilization and its extent from end to end of the Mediterranean. It has often been said

that in that region the bounty of nature and natural conditions, especially the intermixture of land and sea, were such that the early growth of an enterprising civilization was inevitable, particularly in Crete, a divinely appointed *Omphalos*, as it were, in the mass formed by three continents.

Now it has been said of these lands at this period, that 'the people were brought into close contact with one another. Peaceful trading journeys, ambitious wars by land and sea, and some sweeping ethnical movements made the area virtually one interconnected whole.' And there was peace—the *Pax Minoia* we may well call it, for Professor Myres has recently said that Crete had established something like a maritime empire—a peace so profound that it has been described as a peace such as Europe has never enjoyed since. There is vigorous life within the community, as evidenced by art, industries, agriculture, and social and political institutions. There is also frequent intercourse between peoples for joint enterprise, and for commerce, the whole of the seaborne trade between Europe, Asia, and Africa, reaching in the west to Italy, and indirectly through Spain even to England and Ireland, in the north to the head of the Adriatic and the Danube, and in the east to the furthest corners of the Levant, being controlled by Crete. Far from being dark and barbarous, it was an age bubbling with civilized activity, all due, Mr. Hall has said, to 'that blessed word "trade."'

But it has been its misfortune that it has had to bear comparison with the following millennium, the one that ended with the Christian Era. That was a *millennium mirabile*. And yet, its predecessor was in some respects a rival. The fine arts in Crete can at most claim no more than equality, but its architecture, sanitation, water supply, and paved roads for wheeled traffic, were not surpassed till the days of Imperial Rome, its sanitation not till the nineteenth century of our own era. And even in the domain of literature there was one remarkable achievement which its successor never equalled, the Homeric hexameter, of which more presently. Here it is enough to add that the Greek spirit was admittedly present already. The Cretan artists had that love of beauty and of freedom in expressing it that are among the distinctions of classical art.

In its later centuries this second millennium B.C. was one of much unrest. Nations were in the making. 'Europe,' Professor Myres has said, 'was emptying itself with violent spasms into the Mediterranean.' The 'Peoples of the Sea' were scouring sea and land, and wars and Vikingism would be frequent. But even so trade and industry and art were maintained, just as they were in India in the centuries of turmoil before British rule. And if the fine arts in particular were still cultivated, as they were at Mycenae and elsewhere when Knossos was failing, the art of poetry would surely not lag behind. It may have been stimulated. We may compare the similar influences at work in our own Elizabethan era, all reflected in its literature. Sir Arthur Evans does not hesitate; he suggests that 'a considerable element in the Homeric poems represents the material of a Minoan epic.'

And then consider by the way of possibilities of further research. Recent results are in the highest degree encouraging. A few years ago the excavations of two sites in Northern India threw back our knowledge of its ancient civilization by thousands of years, and that ancient culture included the art of writing. It is only a few months since the discovery of a protohistoric Sumerian civilization, which also had a script of its own. The exploration of Greece itself is yielding fresh results every year. The Hittite records already supply a contemporary picture, and when the Cretan tablets shall have given up their secrets, our acquaintance with the ancient Aegean will be enormously increased. It does not seem rash to say that twenty years hence, perhaps even ten, we shall be as familiar with the beginning of the second millennium as we now are with its close. Prehistory, in fact, is rapidly becoming a misnomer for the period in question.

All this prescribes caution. But the point that was of chief interest to Lang has still to be mentioned, namely, that this world was, in its later centuries, one of precisely those conditions in which heroic poetry is born and flourishes. None of the requisites—courts, bards, and a stock of legend and tradition of mighty deeds—is wanting. For the bards we have direct testimony in the epics, but, even if that had been wanting, we could have inferred their existence. They are the agents who made the wondrous epic verse with its

elaborate adjuncts of epithet and phrase, and formula and simile. For it is now accepted that the Homeric epic is the culmination of Greek heroic song, the fruit of a tree that had its roots in a far distant past. The super-bard, so to call him, was all that was needed for a super-epic, and surely the time was ripe. Consider the sequence; a period of quiet, even exuberant, prosperity with the beginnings of epic song, then one of unrest that gives the bards material and opportunity, and finally,' the latest minstrel,' a mighty mind whose creations partly absorb and wholly obliterate previous efforts, the genius, Lang writes, that selects the stuff the folk supplies, 'turning nursery-tales into romance, and ballads into epic of immortal stamp.' And it hardly needs to be said that genius appears when and where it listeth, and that its appearance is regulated by no law that has yet been discovered.

The difficulty that there was not a knowledge of writing adequate to the preservation and transmission of the poems was resolved by Lang on grounds of his own, and the case is far stronger now. Familiarity with writing continues to be pushed back to a more and more remote period.[1] It is enough to say here that writing with a reed pen was already familiar in Crete by the middle of the second millennium. To be sure it is also objected, as it was by Wolf, that at least there was no reading public. Possibly not, but we can readily understand that two such epics about the Great War and the Great Wanderings, composed under royal patronage, should be saved against destruction, to make the heroes *ἀνθρώποισιν ἀοιδίμους ἐσσομένοισιν*. So precious were these that later, in Professor Murray's words, the fugitives from Greece to Asia 'abandoned their treasures, their gods, their wives,' but 'carried their poetry as other nations have carried their religion.'

[1]This still (1934) continues. Another royal (or temple) library at Rás Shámra, Syria, has yielded up a store of tablets, and proves that there was an *alphabetic* script as early as the twelfth century B.C., and perhaps, of course, much earlier. See Dr. Naish in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* for July 1932. Difficulty in believing that the Homeric poems could have been written down when composed is disappearing. See the first chapter of Sir F. G. Kenyon's *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, and p. 21 of Professor Ullman's *Ancient Writing and its Influence*. Neither of these authorities hesitates on the point. For a very different view see *The Humanistic Value of Archaeology* by Rhys Carpenter. His date for the acquisition of the alphabet is 700 B.C. But he does not appear to refer to the Rás Shámra discoveries. It surely cannot have taken the 'quick-witted' Greeks four or five centuries to adopt the alphabet.

But miracle for miracle. I have described the alternatives offered. On the one hand the genius which so many who are competent to express an opinion, including, be it observed, the poets almost to a man, feel must be behind such splendid works of art; on the other their gradual growth through centuries under the hands of a multitude adding, altering, interpolating, and in Lang's forcible summing, up, 'generally bedevilling' the poetry at will. And in this wondrous style of artistic creation there is built up the poem 'Phoebus challenged for his own,' in Professor Murray's own description of the *Iliad* 'the greatest poem that ever sounded on the lips of man.' As far as I can judge the dicta of those entitled to speak, such an origin for the poems is regarded as almost repugnant to reason. Professor Abercrombie declares it to be impossible. If De Quincey were writing now, he might modify his famous similitude and say, 'as well might it be said that the parabola described by a cannon ball is due to a long succession of discharges.'

How then has Lang's view been confirmed or invalidated by later inquiry? How is it affected by Leaf's new plan, which was really Lang's old plan, of confronting Homer with the facts?

Leaf asks us to combine Geography and Archaeology. Now the former was a subject in which Lang would not interest himself, and I can only briefly state that here Homer has been splendidly vindicated since Lang's death. In the first place there has been the failure of a new and grotesque theory about Ithaka; its only merit is that it has led to a thoroughgoing examination of the geography of the *Odyssey*, that has been all to the advantage of Homer. Next M. Victor Bérard, relying on *Topologie*—that is, the study of a locality as the environment of its inhabitants, of its natural and other advantages, and above all of the great natural features, the 'larger uniformities' as Professor Myres calls them, which change not at all or very little in the course of ages—making most patient and complete exploration of the islands of the West, and with unfailing reference to the text of the *Odyssey*, has established two things, that the poem describes with fidelity the conditions of life in the Mediterranean about the end of the second millennium, and that the poet knew the geography and topography of the west of Greece, not of

course as we know them from a geography or an atlas, but at least sufficiently well to describe them fairly accurately. And if we turn to the *Iliad*, with its much decried *Catalogue of the Ships*, we find there has been similar progress. Mr. Allen has successfully defended the *Catalogue* against German criticism, reviving and strengthening, by very learned and exhaustive inquiry, the old view of Freeman that the document must be ancient, because no one in a later age would have any motive to concoct it, or the means to do so satisfactorily. And Mr. M. S. Thompson has, in a paper which some authorities ignore, shown the close correspondence of Mycenaean sites with the countries of the *Catalogue*, and thus supplied the best possible reason for believing that it is, this formerly despised and maltreated document, a genuine ancient gazetteer of Mycenaean Greece.

In regard to archaeology, I begin with matter which was only coming into prominence when Lang was writing. There are verses in the Old Testament containing lists of names of tribes or peoples, Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites—I confine myself to these three—which have in these days been found to have considerable ethnological value and interest. Thus the Perizzites are, Professor Sayce has very recently told us, a tribe of ancient workers in iron, and the Hivites, I have read, are our old friends the *Ἀχαιϝοί*, of Homer. But of all the peoples and tribes thus celebrated, by far the most interesting are the Hittites. They are the 'children of Heth,' and, as Gladstone long ago argued, and Kretschmer has now proved, the *Κήτειοι* of the *Odyssey*. And the power and extent of their empire are stated to be 'the most conspicuous fact in the history of the second millennium that has emerged from the research of the last half century.'

Now tablets discovered in a royal Hittite library, so far as they have been read, already throw new light on the Mediterranean world for the fourteenth century, and, as has been remarked, what may ultimately be found lies beyond the limit of speculation. Names of personages appear who have hitherto been known as mere heroes in the Saga, and of places in Greece and Asia Minor. These names connect the tablets with Greek prehistory as it was known before in a way from tradition, and as genuine history from discovery through excavation. Well might Professor Giles close an

account of these revelations with the comforting assurance that the heroes of Greek legend, who were all made sun-gods in his youth, are in a fair way to be restored to history. And not only men and places, but the Achaean realm of Greece itself, under the name Ahijjawa. It is one of the Great Powers of the day, it treats with Egypt and Babylon, it comes in conflict with the Hittite dominion itself. In short, we have again a great advance in the achievement of reality for the world of Homer's day.

I have said that Greek prehistory was known, vaguely of course, from some Greek writers, and a remarkable feature of recent exploitation of the remains of the second millennium is the resulting rehabilitation of these traditional accounts, which could once be described, as by Grote, and with some reason in his day, as stories of a past that never was present. They were 'profane and old wives' fables.' Now the learned contributors to the *CAH* accept cycles of legend such as the great Trojan Saga as substantially true. A great advance this from the attitude of fifty years ago! The Trojan War has re-entered history. Professor Rose told us recently that it was as real as our own Great War; Dr. Leaf was willing to believe that the immediate cause was the abduction of a princess, and Professor Bury that Agamemnon had the famous quarrel with Achilles that engendered the Wrath that is the subject of the *Iliad*.

So far all testifies to the truth of Homer and the reality of his matter. If we turn to the results of archaeological discovery in Greece itself, these are too familiar to require restatement. The archaeologist has here compiled a trustworthy record as surely, if not in such detail, as the historian from the written or printed page, and has enabled us to see with a new television life in the Aegean area three and even four thousand years ago. And the question is whether the discoveries made tend to prove that Lang was right in claiming that the civilization recovered for about the beginning of the eleventh century is the one we can reconstruct from Homer. The formal examination of his proofs that Lang asked for has never, I repeat, been made, nor can it be said that they have been universally accepted, though, as to that, he was able to claim that he had the highest archaeological authority on his side. What can be and has been

recently said is, that the resemblances between the Homeric and Mycenaean cultures are too many and the differences too few to permit of any other conclusion than that they are identical. And the differences grow less. We have the high authority of Mr. Wace for the view that 'Homer gives us, with certain reservations, an epitome of the last stage of the Minoan and Mycenaean culture.'

And finally, this actuality, even historicity of Homer should not surprise us. The prime object of the old bards or gleemen, those who 'found out musical tunes and recited verses in writing, 'was to make joyous tales. To that end their skill must contribute much; they had to charm the ears of the listeners by the music of their recital, and, like the Preacher, 'to find out acceptable words.' But the matter of their lays would be of no less concern, and as to its nature everywhere we are left in no doubt. The national poetry of a heroic age begins with mere improvisation by a hero, telling a round unvarnished tale of some exploit that develops into the ballad, 'a lyrical narrative poem,' as Ker defines it, for which I often think of the fine stirring lays the minstrels made for the Marátha caterans who were carving out kingdoms for themselves in India. And the ballad grows into the epic. But whether as ballad or epic, crude or finished, the poetry deals with, and naturally glorifies the doughty deeds of the leaders of the community, be it *polis*, tribe or nation, 'men renowned for their powers, giving counsel by their understanding,' the men whose κλέα Achilles was singing when the envoys came to win him back to the War. And the 'works of noble note' to be celebrated in those days when bravery, strength, speed of foot to succour a friend or overtake a foe, or prominence in counsel or in cunning, were what made for leadership, were mainly feats in hand to hand fights on land, such as make the theme of the *Iliad*, or the sea forays on a neighbour's coast, or adventures into unfamiliar waters, even away 'beyond the sunset and the baths of all the western stars,' and these are what are sung in the *Odyssey*. The terrors even of a μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης did not deter these early explorers of the 'watery ways,' real as they were to men so poorly equipped. They are typified in the Grendel of the earliest English epic, itself an epic of the sea, in the Scylla and Charybdis of the *Odyssey*, and, far earlier

than either, on a Minoan gem, where an unfortunate seaman seems to be waiting in trepidation for the fate of Jonah.

And a dominating motive, the students of heroic ages tell us, always the eagerness for fame, fame for great achievement done for the common weal and in loyalty to your fellows, who have laid high charge on you, but with no derogation of your standing as a free man. We have the whole code in the Homeric record of the Heroic Age of Greece. Strive for κλέος ἐσθλόν, a good name among your peers. *Noblesse oblige* is expressed, in words that have won the admiration of every age, in the call of Sarpedon to Glaukos in a battle in the *Iliad*, and it is this same Glaukos to whom his father's parting behest was αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, ever to bear himself nobly and *famam extendere factis*. Forward to high emprise, just the ἴομεν of Homer, was to Professor Ker 'the heroic rule of conduct,' forward it might be in the face of fearful odds, it must be with the knowledge that the blow of the Stubborn Weird may fall, the *ineluctabile fatum*, 'when all is done that men may do, and all is done in vain.'

And wherever national poetry embodying a nation's saga is examined, we have this glorification of famous deeds. But the point for us is that always the basis of a national saga is real doings in a real world of abundant opportunity by men who have lived, a basis, as Lang puts it, of 'resounding fact.' Professor Abercrombie argues that 'the prime material of the epic poet must be real and not invented.' That was recognized by Lang. The epics were to him the reflection of a world that was a world of fact. But he was no mere enthusiast forcing the facts to his theory, as is shown by one limitation which he candidly expressed. We have he said, 'no evidence of the actual existence of any of the epic personages.' That was honestly said. He even refrained from arguing, on the recovery of the stronghold of Troy and of the Mycenaean civilization, coupled with the analogy of national poetry elsewhere, that these personages or some of them were as real as the life depicted. *Now* he could have no hesitation, when we have what were formerly merely legendary figures certified from a royal library of the day as participants in contemporary world-history.

One point remains, and I can only glance at it. Lang held that Homer depicted the world as he saw it, but others say

that he archaizes, that is, presents to us an ideal world of a past time. That Lang stoutly denied. He affirmed, and no one was better qualified to speak on the point, that poets in an early age never archaize, but describe only what they 'see daily in costume, customs, weapons, armour and ways of life.' Which is surely what would occur to the untutored mind of the ordinary man. Such poets have not museums or dictionaries of antiquities from which to work up a scheme of local colour that is of the past. But this archaizing is essential to some theories of the origin of the poems, and Professor Murray, for instance, is certain that the poet is representing 'with conscious art a past age of heroism and chivalry,' and refers us, somewhat strangely, to modern poets such as Scott and Tennyson and Morris for comparison with Homer. And recently he has expressed his astonishment that 'a critic so good as Andrew Lang,' should entertain the opposite and absurd opinion, an opinion shared, I may add, among others, by authorities of the standing of Evans, Wace, Hall, E. A. Gardner, Seymour and Burrows. I cannot go into the grounds, which are taken from a German treatise, though I note that these are stated without reference to Lang's discussion of the point in *H and A*, but I would that Lang had been with us still to deal with this too easy dismissal of his view. Often in recent years have the defenders of the unity of Homer had reason to lament the loss of a scholar and friend, and this is particularly an occasion on which they long for the help of a vanished hand.

The conclusion of the matter, then, as it appears to an outside watcher of Homeric discussion, is that everything tends to show that Lang was right in his view of Homer and his age. Nothing is more arresting in these days, as one watches the results of research into Greek prehistory, than the respect that is paid by experts to the Homeric poems as a trustworthy source of our knowledge of the Greek world in the end of the second millennium. They are 'treasured by the historian no less than by lovers of great poetry.' Those who agree with Lang can await further developments without misgiving, indeed with confidence that, in Pindar's words, the days to come will prove the wisest witnesses.

SECTION IV

SCHERIA

As stated in the Preface, the papers that follow have not, so far as I am aware, attracted notice. They are not referred to by, probably they are not known to, two German writers who have made the Homeric geography a subject of minute and serious inquiry during recent years, Richard Hennig, in his *Von rätselhaften Ländern* (Munich, 1925), and again in his *Die Geographie des homerischen Epos* (Teubner, 1934) and Albert Herrmann in the *Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, for 1926. Hennig finds that Scheria, which is also Atlantis, is Tartessos, on the west coast of the Iberian peninsula. Scheria cannot be Corfu, because Corfu is Ithaka! He has also found the real Homeric Asteris; it is Paxos! Herrmann, after rearranging the *Odyssey* to suit his purpose, finds that Scheria is in Tunisia! I fear these identifications will hardly gain acceptance, but it is at least satisfactory that their authors have departed from the *Weissnichtwo* view of Scheria. I observe by the way that very little indeed of the literature of the subject outside Germany is regarded by these inquirers. It would have been interesting, for example, to read what Hennig thinks of Dr. Leaf's Corfu-Taphos theory.

I notice that in a new edition of Tozer's *History of Ancient Geography*, Phaeacia, in spite of 'venerable tradition,' is not Corfu. The connection 'must be relegated to the region of myth.'

THE SCHERIA OF THE *ODYSSEY*—I

CQ XIII (1919)

Two main views of the country called in the *Odyssey* the Land of the Phaeacians or Scheria are current among Homeric scholars. Some think it is, or is in, the island known to the ancients as Corcyra, and that the people who are described as living in it were ordinary flesh and blood mortals.

The other view, the belief of the majority, though of great variety, is that Scheria is in fairyland or some other supramundane sphere, and a creation of the poet's fancy. In *CR* xxiv 204 Mr. Evelyn-White says, after quoting Monro, that it 'cannot be disputed' that the Phaeacian and other adventures of Odysseus are *Märchen*, so the matter is as good as closed. But as many of the Homeric *choses jugées* of last century have been proved of recent years to be unsubstantial, it has seemed worth while to examine the fairyland theory afresh. I begin with a survey of the literature of the question, and shall then inquire in a second paper what Homeric foundation there is for the supernatural theory. Elsewhere I shall endeavour to show that Homer describes a real people, and that Scheria can be fitted into the Mediterranean world, as we now know it, of the latest Minoan or Mycenaean period, and is in fact a Minoan settlement in Corcyra.

Perhaps the most famous of the papers which have developed the extra-terrestrial idea is Welcker's *Die homn. Phäaken u. d. Inseln der Seligen* in *Rhein. Mus.* i 219 sqq. Briefly, he holds that the Phaeacian story is based on the northern one told by Procopius, that there was a race of Ferrymen of the Dead, who conveyed the shades of the departed to the Island of Brettia, for which cp. Stjerna, *Essays on Beowulf*, 103 sqq., and *Folk-Lore*, xxix 55, referring to Tylor. As the Phaeacians are habitual πομποί, using ships that flit over the sea enveloped in mist, and as they escort Odysseus home while he is fallen on a sleep as deep as death itself, they are obviously ferrymen of the kind. If that be the root idea of Homer's narrative, it must be allowed that the ferrymen have become *diablement changés*, seeing that their Homeric representatives are a gay, light-hearted people, ῥεῖα ζώοντες, and having dealings only with living men. Perhaps it was some consciousness of this *reductio ad absurdum* that led Welcker to go on to suggest that Homer has endued these ghostly functionaries with the manners and customs of his own Ionia. The further objection has been taken that it is hardly likely that the northern legend had reached Greece at the early period to which we must refer the Phaeacian episode, or at least its *Kern*. Had it done so, we might have expected more references to it in the literature of the thousand years before Procopius' day. On these

grounds Nitzsch, *Anmkgn. zu Homers Od.* iii xxxii, approved of Klausen's refutation of Welcker. Cp. the more recent rejection in Roscher, *s.v. Phäaken*, 2218.

Another explanation that has found some favour is Gerland's in his *Altgriechische Märchen in d. Od.* He sees in the Phaeacian story a fairy-tale akin to that of Saktideva in the Sanskrit collection *Somadeva*, and enumerates the resemblances. The hero of the Sanskrit story is saved from a whirlpool by clinging to a fig-tree,[1] and then comes to the fairy country of the Vidhyādaris, who are ruled by a beautiful queen, whom the hero does not wed. Instead he returns home and marries an old love. It is argued that the story is *Gemeingut* of the Aryan race. Monro, in his edition of *ν–ω* p. 293, agrees, on Gerland's showing, that 'the Phaeacian episode is distinctly *märchenhaft*,' and, *Academy* of October 22nd, 1870, 24, that the resemblances between the tale and the Phaeacian episode are obvious. So Butcher and Lang, xx. But the points of similarity are common to many fairy-tales, and Jevons, *Hist. Greek Lit.* 19, observes that, as the *Somadeva* was not compiled till about 1200 A.D., there was plenty of time for the Greek story to reach and become popular in Hindustan, just as a Sanskrit tale came west and was incorporated in the *Arabian Nights*. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 398, n. 4, who himself derives the 'myth of the Phaeacians' from a Helios-Poseidon legend, finds the Indian parallels doubtful. Cp. Mannhardt, *Antike Feld- u. Waldkulte*, 108, and Krause, *Tuisko-Land*, 602 sqq. To the latter the Vidhyādharis are *Walküren*. Parallels are easy to trace in such cases. There is an instructive passage in Miss Stawell's *H and I*, 124 sq., in which the resemblances between the story of the *Odyssey* and the North American Tale of the Red Swan are drawn out in full, but no one would infer an original connexion between the two.

Gerland's view of the genesis of the Phaeacian tale must

[1]This is one point of resemblance—cf. *μ* 432 sq.—which is deemed very striking. But it is to be noted that it is no part of the Phaeacian story, and, further, that the 'fig-tree' is not the same in the two tales. The *ἐρινεός* of the *Odyssey* is the wild progenitor of the edible fig (*Ficus Carica*). The tree in the *Somadeva* is the banyan (*Ficus Indica*), made famous by the description in *Paradise Lost* xi 1101 sqq. Cp. Tawney's Translation of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* I 220. Reading this story of Śaktideva in that collection, and others in it, I do not feel impressed by the resemblances: and perhaps too little attention has been paid to the differences. In the *Arabian Nights* (Lane, Vol. iii 7) a hero similarly saves himself by clinging to a branch.

also be unacceptable to those who have of recent years come to the conclusion—on the *non dulce ni tecum* read into ζ 244 sqq. and θ 457 sqq., and other faint indications—that in its original form there *was* a marriage, and that Nausikaa did not remain behind 'widow'd of her heart's desire.' This interpretation is due to van Leeuwen, *Mnemos.* xxxix (now in his *Commentt. Hom.*), and Mr. Paton, in *CR* xxvi 259, considers it to be 'quite certain.' A wedding is also discovered by those who see in the story a nature-myth. It is the union of the *Frühlingsgott* Odysseus with the *Erdgottin* Nausikaa. See e.g. Osterwald, *Hermes-Odysseus*, 111 sqq. Eitrem, *Die Phaiakenepisode in der Od.*, concludes that Odysseus really made a 'long stay' in Scheria, in which case he would hardly escape matrimony. But others have held that he remained but one day.

Bender, *Die märchenhaften Bestandtheilen der homn. Gedichte*, 25 sqq., enumerates points of coincidence with the Mongolian tale of Gesser Khan. The resemblances are at least as striking as those in Gerland's Indian parallel, but Bender's conclusion is different. He argues borrowing by Mongolia. For points of community with an old Egyptian story and with the adventures of Sindbad (so also Eitrem, *op. cit.* 29), see Gruppe, *op. cit.* 711 n., and von Kralik, *Homeros*, 359, 376. Jensen, in *Das Gilgamisepos*, as I see from a review, finds striking resemblances between the Odysseus legend and Semitic sagas.

Those, and they are not a few, who make Odysseus a Sun God,[1] have no difficulty in explaining Phaeacia as the Realm of Darkness or a Region of the Underworld, from which the God of Day or of Light or of Spring emerges in all his glory. For particulars of such views see *Der Urmythus der Od.* by Menrad, and Rossbach's *Castrogiovanni*, 27 sqq. Menrad, however, cannot bring himself to believe that the episode is an essential part of the *Mythenzyklus des Sonnenhelden*. Van Leeuwen, *op. cit.* 55 sq., sees in the solar myth, in which the sun emerging from darkness is made a hero, who is given a convoy by the *Phaeaces sive Furvi mortuorum portitores*, one of the *incongrua* which went to the construction of the epic. Seeck's conclusion as to a *Sonnenmythus* in his

[1]Siecke, in *Hermes der Mondgott*, 38, says a Moon God. He does not appear to deal with the adventure in Phaeacia, which presumably must be interpreted as an eclipse.

Quellen der Od. is well known. Trenkel, *Zur Phäakis u. Telemachie*, starts from it; Phaeacia is *Schattenland*. There the *sterbende Naturgott*, according to E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii 103, is in the power *der grauen Männern* (*Phaeaken*). Compare his essay in *Hermes* xxx 258 sqq., the 'combinations' in which are questioned by Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 282 n., and Osterwald, *op. cit.* 84—the god of spring returning with blessings from the *Unterweltinsel* Scheria. So Harder, *Homer*, 90. On all which see the sound observations by Kroll, *Sage u. Dichtung in N. Jbb.* 1912, 161 sqq., and Scott in *CP* xii 244 sqq. The latter, yielding for the moment to the *Lust des Fabulierens*, proves that General Lee himself was a solar avatar.

In another phase of the interpretation the Phaeacians are Spirits, generally of a beneficent disposition. Ploix, *Le Mythe de l'Odyssée*, 176, classes them with the fairies, common in all tales, who appear in a crisis to help the unfortunate hero, supplying him with treasure and a wife. Specifically, they are the inhabitants of *le pays de la lumière*, which agrees with Gerland's suggestion that they were *Lichtelben*, and differs *toto coelo* from the conception of 'the grey men.' Gruppe, *op. cit.* 398, supposes they were originally Spirits of the Winds, and finds an analogy in seamen's stories, as that of the Flying Dutchman. Cp. Trenkel, *op. cit.* 13. So Müllenhof, quoted by Mannhardt, *ut supra*, and Preller-Robert, 628 sq. Klausen, *Die Abenteuer des Ods.*, makes them Daemons of the Waves, and Von Kralik, 262 sqq. *die guten Genien der See, Schutzgeister.* Schwartz, *Nachklänge prähist. Volksglaubens in Hom.* 17 sqq. goes to the clouds. The Phaeacians are *Wolkenschiffer.* They came from Hypereia which is obviously heaven (so also Usener *Götternamen*, 20) though in Hypereia they were the neighbours of the Cyclopes, whom it is startling to find in the celestial sphere. For an enthusiastic exposition of the cloudland belief, see Cox, *Mythol. of the Aryan Nations*, ii 274 sqq.

But all are not agreed as to the beneficent character. Eitrem thinks the Phaeacians—when, so to speak, in embryo—were χαλεποί and ἄγριοι. Their descent from Poseidon seems to suggest the same thing to Adam, *Aufbau d. Od.* 25. Gercke appears to have discovered that the gentle lady Areté was originally an ogress, a view which Cauer, *Grund-*

fragen[2], 477, rightly considers an outrage on the poetry. This conception is generally based on η 30 sqq., where the words are spoken by Athené, and are obviously an *Augenblicksäusserung*. See Rothe, *Od. als Dichtung*, 255, and Dachs, *Die λύσις ἐκ προσώπου*, 70, and cp. Scott in *CJ* xiii 215.

Many inquirers, again, without making detailed examination, and not always expressly agreeing with any of the leading theories already mentioned, intimate their general concurrence in the *märchenhaft* view. The Phaeacians are an imaginary people, and their country a Land of Cockaigne, a Utopia, a *Weissnichtwo*, a *Nirgendwo*, a *Schlaraffenland*, as unreal as Camoens' Isle of Loves. The view was not unknown in antiquity—see Lehrs, *Aristarchus*[3], 244, and cp. Eustath. on η 118—ἐκτοπίζων τὴν Φαιακίαν ὡς εἴπερ νῆσος ἦν τις μακάρων τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἀνεξέλεγκτος. And how general such opinions are at the present time among Homerists of all attitudes to the poems the following brief references will show. Mangold, *La Ville Homérique*, 15, and Sikes on ζ 241 (ideal); Mackail, *Homer*, 1905, 15 (enchanted city); Hall, *OCG* 258 n. (probably purely imaginary); Browne, *Handbook*, 187 (half-supernatural); Bursian, *Georgr.* ii 355 sqq. (a fairy paradise); G. Lang, *Geogr. d. Od.* 112 (ideal picture of Ionian life); Seymour, *Life*, 318, and Geddes, *Problem*, 75 (fairyland); Hergt, *De Ulixis Erroribus*, 42 (fabulous); Lehrs, *Kl. Schriften*, 61 (a wonder-folk); Heubach, *Od. als Kuntswerk*, and Keller, *Homc. Society*, 25 sqq. (imaginary, based on Phoenician materials); and Groeger in *Rhein. Mus.* lix 22 sqq. (the Phäakis an imitation of the late book Ω, with old *Märchengut* incorporated). And I see from references that Wilamowitz has, in the *Internationale Monatsschrift* for June, 1914, contended that Phaeacia is *Phantomland*.

In regard to the localization of the Phaeacians, the Fairyists generally hold that Homer conceives them as a race dwelling in some Isle of the Blest, for he describes their country as one of much amenity, and themselves as having some connexion with Rhadamanthys, who, according to δ 564, is on the Elysian Plain. The view is, as we have seen, as old as Eustathius, and Welcker adopted it. Rohde, however, *Psyche*, 75, n. 2, characterized the idea that the Phaeacians as *Fährleute des Todes* stood in any relation to Elysium as

nichts als eine haltlose Phantasie. But to Rhadamanthys we shall have to return later.

Allegory, as Lawton observes, *Art and Humanity in Homer*, 193, does not appear, so far, to have been discovered in the Phaeacian episode.

The explanation given by Fries in *Das Zagmukfest auf Scheria* is in a category by itself. Fries is imbued with the importance of the influence of the old oriental world on early Greece, and has viewed the Greek gods and heroes in a separate treatise *vom astralmythologischen Standpunkt*. The doings in Scheria he regards as not invented, but as an annual *Akt des Kultlebens*, the installation of the God of Light or *Jahresheld* in his new realm. The interpretation of the evidence seems forced, and it does not appear that the exposition has been found convincing, but I am not sure that the grounds are either less numerous or less cogent than those which have readily appealed to the Fairyists.

Between the supramundane and the mere earthly explanations of Scheria comes one that is favoured by Dr. Leaf. In *The Times* of January 19th, 1909, Mr. Frost broached the view, afterwards developed in *JHS* xxxiii 189 sqq., that Plato's Atlantis is really Minoan Crete, and he has incidentally suggested that the Odyssean account of Scheria is a reflection of that island in the day of its greatness.[1] 'The picture given by the poet is substantially true of the great period of the Palace of Cnossus, but quite unlike that of Crete as he knew it.' Dr. Leaf follows, *H and H* 183 sq., and asks if Scheria is not Homer's name for Plato's Atlantis. We are to 'consider whether the Phaeacians who, in Nausikaa's words, "care not for bow and arrow, but only for masts and oars and ships," may not fairly remind us of the men of Knossus, who, secure in the rule of the sea, never cared to fortify their palace by the shore.' But this surely tells absolutely against the identification. A land in which the bow is despised cannot be Crete at any stage of its ancient history, and the Phaeacians, who were—again to quote Nausikaa—secure against attack by sea, did nevertheless, unlike their Minoan prototypes, carefully fortify their settlement on the coast.

[1]Osterwald, *op. cit.* 90, had thought of Atlantis. But he wrote in 1853, long before the archaeologist had restored the Minoan Age.

But I am not concerned to deny Minoan features to Scheria; in fact, I agree that they exist. But this Atlantid theory raises two questions, first, whether Minoan Crete can be identified with Plato's Atlantis, and, second, whether Scheria can be accepted as a sort of image or mirage of Minoan Crete.

On the first point I cannot of course discuss Mr. Frost's argument here at length, but there is one prime difficulty which he himself specifies, and which, it appears to me, is not to be surmounted. Plato's Solon's Egyptian friend's Atlantis is outside the Pillars of Hercules. Crete is in the Mediterranean, some 1,300 miles from Gibraltar, but only some 350 from Egypt, whence this story purports to have come. Why should it be transported 1,000 miles west of its proper site, and why should its existence be thrown back 9,000 years and its extent magnified to an area greater than Libya and Asia? In process of folk-memory, if not in that of Egyptian priests, all this might of course have taken place, but there seems to be very little ground for believing that it did. On the other hand, there have always been those who have held that the legend of a great island or continent out in the Atlantic, which was eventually submerged, had a basis in fact. Mr. Frost easily disposes of the belief by the statements that there have been some 'palpably absurd' theorizings about Atlantis, which is doubtless true, and that 'it is geologically certain that no such subsidence in the Atlantic or Mediterranean has taken place in human times, or at least since palaeolithic man.' When and by whom was this made certain? Mr. Frost refers, for authority, to the discussion in M. Martin's *Études sur le Timée de Platon*. But Martin was presumably no geologist, and consequently no authority himself, and he wrote nearly eighty years ago. I have difficulty in obtaining access to the literature of the subject, and the *Encycl. Brit.* s.v. Atlantis unfortunately does not help, but I gather from the works I have consulted that scientific opinion is divided. This is distinctly stated in a very recent book, *The Myths of Crete*, by Mr. D. A. Mackenzie, 97 sqq.; and Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, 58, quotes V. Tissot and D'Arbois de Jubanville as believers in the lost continent. See also Atlantis in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*; Berlioux, 'Les Atlantes,' in *Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*,

1883; and Warren, *Paradise Found*, 38, and cp. 184, where the *Phaedrus*, 275 B, is quoted, 'but, O Socrates, you can easily invent Egyptians or anything else.' But I refrain from quoting authorities on Plato. It is enough to say here that this standing controversy in the scientific world must be resolved before any outsider can be dogmatic either way.[1]

But it is not the only difficulty. Minoan Crete was well known in Egypt till the destruction of its capital, and intercourse between the two countries was frequent. Now it is hardly to be supposed that such intercourse then ceased to exist altogether, or that it was so rare that the Egyptian authorities and priests forgot all about the great island realm, and its destruction by 'a real historical person,' Theseus (Mr. Frost, approved by Dr. Leaf, *op. cit.* 280), or that the memories which, *ex hypothesi*, they retained of its glories, became entirely dissociated from it. And, if only some dim recollection once connected in tradition with Crete at its zenith did float about Egypt, it is surely as likely that the features that survived became attached to an Atlantis familiar in tradition, whether or not it was real in fact, as that Crete should be moved out into the Atlantic ocean and become to the Egyptian world something no better than a sort of Camelot, or 'realm of shadowy palaces.'

This, however, is a matter on which scholars will no doubt come to a conclusion in course of time. The important question for present purposes is, what ground there is for believing that in the *Odyssey* Homer has given memories of Minoan Crete a local habitation and a name[2] in Scheria. It seems to me there is very little. Drerup in his *Homer*[2], 129 sqq., cp. his *Omero*, 265 sq., suggests that the origin of the *Odyssey* is to be found in Crete. Professor Burrows accepts this, *Discoveries*, 208, and others, as Kranz on the *Irrfahrten*, *Hermes*, 1915, do the same. For a criticism in detail of this idea see Belzner, *Land u. Heimat des Odysseus*, note on 34 sqq., and cp. Cauer, *Erfundenes u. Überliefertes bei Homer*, in *N Jbb* 1905, 16. Finsler, *Homer*[2], 23, accepts, but allows that

[1] A friend has sent me the *Occult Review* for January, 1913, and copies of *Light* for March, 1917. What value can be assigned to the papers in them on Atlantis I am unable to say.

[2] I do not think that among the numerous attempted derivations of the name there is, so far, any explanation by the Cretists that would suit their theory.

in what he calls the 'final redaction' of the *Odyssey* Scheria is conceived as in Corcyra.

Professor Burrows goes on to suggest that 'the Phaeacians themselves, mariners, artists, feasters, dancers, are surely the Minoans of Crete,' and agrees with Drerup that, when Alkinoos says Odysseus shall be taken home, even if that home be farther than Euboea, whither the Phaeacians once conveyed Rhadamanthys—who, it is noted, was Minos' twin-brother—the secret is out. I leave this mention of Rhadamanthys for later consideration; it is not certain that there was only one of the name, or, if there was, that that one was in origin a Cretan. But how can it be held that the comparison with Euboea is a bad one 'if the point of view, as is ordinarily held, is that of Corcyra, a good one if it is that of Crete'? I cannot understand the argument. How could Euboea be regarded as an *Ultima Thule* to Crete? The voyage between is a comparatively short, straight, easy run through the islands; from Corcyra it is a long roundabout past all the dangerous southern promontories of Greece. And if, as many have believed with good reason, the poet conceived there was to the north of Greece an open sea, which would be as mysterious and unexplored as that to the west, my argument is certainly not weakened. In short, if Crete be taken as the starting-place, there is little meaning in Alkinoos' remark. Mr. Frost and Dr. Leaf add nothing on this point. It is almost as hard, no doubt, to prove a mere memory as to prove a negative.

I leave for the present the similarities traced between the life of the Phaeacians and the life of the Minoans. Here I will only say that it seems to me it would be strange if Homer constructed Phaeacia out of memories of Minoan Crete, seeing that he knows both the Crete of his own day, *ὅθι Μίνωος γένος ἐστίν*, and its Minoan past equally well. It is unnecessary to quote references. Minos, Deucalion, Daedalus, and Ariadné are all real enough to him. For contemporary Crete there is, not to mention the *Catalogue*, the famous account of the island in *τ* 172 sqq., on which and its fidelity to fact see Professor Myres in *JHS* xxvii 176. That the poet should wish in addition to have a Crete in the western seas is hard to think. It is his appropriation of Corfu for the Taphians—on which see *CR* xxx 82—that has led Dr. Leaf

to embrace the notion. He had to provide for the Phaeacians somehow, and Atlantis was heard a-calling.

I now resume after this Cretan digression, and turn to those—there have always been a faithful few—who have believed the poet was describing a real locality and a real people. I need not dwell on identifications which have been treated as mere curiosities from their birth, such as those with the Canaries (Jarz, Cailleux, Kirchenbauer), Gadeira or Cadiz (Breusing), Trapani in Sicily (Butler), and even Palestine[1] (Schreiner). But at all times there have been inquirers who have been impressed with the evident reality of Phaeacia, some even adhering to the Corcyra tradition. Nägelsbach, *Hom. Theol.*[3] *Anhang*, 188, put the Phaeacians on a par with the Aethiopians, Leleges, Teleboans, and Taphians, all of whom, he says, have mythical characteristics. But, such traits notwithstanding, it has always been believed that these peoples actually lived in the flesh. For some other early believers see the remarks *Ueber die Lage Scherias* in Nitzsch's *op. cit.* ii 72 sqq. Nitzsch himself, though he adheres generally to the fairyland notion, admits Homer may have had Corcyra in mind. Forbiger, *Handbuch d. alt. Geogr.* iii 1011, thought it highly probable Scheria was Corcyra. Cp. Schlichthorst, *Geogr. Homeri*, 53, 59 sqq., 118 n., and Brown, *Handbook*, 189. Zimmerer, in a paper *Scheria das Land der Phäaken*, 1892, known to me only from a report of its contents, contended for Corcyra, placing Hypereia, the Phaeacians' old home, in Epirus. Dörpfeld is convinced he will find the remains of Scheria in Corfu. Gruhn is strong for reality, though singular in making, in his *Kyklopen u. Phäaken*, Corfu Thrinakié, and locating the Phaeacians in Leukas. For the works of Mustoxidi, a native of Corfu and an enthusiastic defender of its claim, see Bursian, *Geogr.* 359 n. Hayman also favoured Corfu, Vol. ii Pref. lxxxv. Champault, in his *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée*, identifies Scheria with Ischia. Gladstone, of course, accepted Corfu. Hypereia, he thought, *Synchronism*, 242 sq., was on the north coast of Africa. Others have thought it was in the same region. Colonel Mure took it to be Hipparis in Sicily. Mr. Leask, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* 1888, 293, would identify it

[1]So some 'learned man' in Dodwell's time. See his *Tour through Greece*, i 32. Alkinoos is Solomon!

with the heights of Aram as opposed to the lowlands of Canaan, and would find in this confirmation of Herodotus' account of the original habitat of the Phoenicians. Pasteris, *I miti inferni in Omero*, 70 sq., suggests Hypereia may be '*l'Alta Asia* (= ὑπέρ—'Ασία?),' and thinks of Tyre, and it is curious that Merry and Riddell on ζ 263 remark on the similarity of the topography of Scheria to that of Tyre. Finally, Bérard, in *Ph. et Od.* has, after a minute and patient investigation on the spot, proved, I venture to think, that Scheria is a site, known to-day as Palaiocastrizza, on the north-west coast of Corfu.

From this detailed review it appears that after centuries of discussion, mainly based, as we shall see, on a few facts in the narrative which have not been carefully weighed, nothing has been settled. The efforts of the Fairyists have been as infructuous as those of the enucleators of the Kernel of the *Iliad*. But as the extracosmical view is so generally held, I shall in a second paper consider the indications in the Homeric text on which it is based and try to assess their real evidential value.

THE SCHERIA OF THE *ODYSSEY*—II

CQ XIII (1919)

I NOW turn to an examination of the grounds for arguing supernaturalism in the Phaeacian story, but for their proper appreciation it is necessary to consider an element in the narrative which unfortunately has had little attention of recent years. There is in it more than mere unseasoned description. The poet is evidently taking off these settlers in Scheria, the centre about which his humour plays being the figure of their king, Alkinoos. This is no new thing, but all, as Blass once slily remarked of a scene in the *Iliad*, do not perceive it. It was clear to Mure. On pp. 404 sqq. of Vol. i of his *Hist. of Gk. Lit.* he describes the fun at length, deplores the misapprehension by 'profound commentators,' and thinks the episode 'the most brilliant specimen of the poet's com-

bined talent for the delineation of character and for satirical humour.' See also Samuel Butler's *The Humour of Homer*. No one was better qualified than Butler for such an appreciation; the pity is that he spoiled it all by his great Homeric joke about Nausikaa's authorship. Some points are noticed by Perrin and Hayman, and Trenkel sees that the community is *Gegenstand des Spottes*. But generally the humour is lost on the commentators, who, intent only on the jigsawing of the Phaeacian story, mark the *uerborum minutiae* and are blind to the *rerum pondera*.

Alkinoos appears to be a hearty old sea-dog, well-to-do, and proud of his prosperous people. His speeches show him vain and egotistical. This is apparent from the recurrence in them of ἐγώ and its parts and derivatives, and from his references to the ἀρετή of his Phaeacians, who are to him ἀμύμονες and 'excel all others.' 'Self-laudatory bombast,' Mure says, is the chief characteristic of his discourses. He is also impulsive and downright, promising convoy to the stranger—who might, λ 363 sqq., have been ἠπεροπεὺς καὶ ἐπίκλοπος!—after an hour's acquaintance, and even suggesting that he should take Nausikaa to wife. He seems to be of a simple mind—ἁπλοϊκὸς μάλιστα εἰσάγεται, schol. η 313—and apt to be careless as to the discharge of his public duties, η 159 sqq., and λ 346. In the latter case, when called to order, he is alert at once, and is ready to comply if Heaven give him one more day to live.

And he is fond of the feast and loves οἴνῳ πνεύμονα τέγγειν. This helps to explain his speeches. His own daughter's words, when he is first introduced, are surely significant, τῷ (θρόνῳ) ὅ γε οἰνοποτάζει ἐφήμενος ἀθάνατος ὥς—as if draining the winecup were his habitual occupation and τὸ πίνειν τὸ ζῆν. Trenkel goes so far as to attribute to him the *Stimmung einer seligen Zechers*. Some critics might have saved themselves trouble over discrepancies had they noticed that the speeches which they were dissecting were made by the king when the wine was in. Thus in η he and his nobles are introduced to us at dinner, πίνοντες καὶ ἔδοντες, and it is just after the company has broken up that he makes the proposal of marriage already mentioned, with a suddenness which surprises Nitzsch. Yet further experience of the king's way after a good meal makes it clear that he sometimes in

such circumstances *ἔπος προέηκεν ὃ πέρ' τ' ἄρρητον ἄμεινον*. These circumstances recur the very next day. At the banquet the minstrel's song moves Odysseus to tears, and Alkinoos, noticing this, proposes an adjournment for games, but is unfortunately led on to swagger about the prowess of his performers—*ἦ τοίνυν τοῦτο ἀλαζονεύεται*, Eustath, *a.l.* His guest shall see them and be able to proclaim to his friends, *ὅσσον περιγιγνόμεθ' ἄλλων | πύξ τε παλαισμοσύνῃ τε καὶ ἅλμασιν ἠδὲ πόδεσσιν*, *θ*, 102 sq. The games proceed, and there are displays in all the four sports mentioned, the victor in boxing being his own son Laodamas. Next comes the interlude in which Odysseus, displeased at the challenge from Laodamas[1] and roused by the insulting words of another performer, hurls a discus in a style that astonishes the assemblage. He then, in the heat of victory, offers to engage all comers in *any* contest, excepting only running, for which, after his experiences in the sea, he does not feel very fit. The effect of this is to sober Alkinoos at once. He must prevent the stranger from shaming them all, especially after his own boast, so he makes an apology for the rudeness, and then in the silliest manner possible and still with a vanity that refuses to be suppressed, makes a complete change of front. The stranger is carefully to mark the king's words, so that—once again—he may be able to tell of the *ἀρετή* of the Phaeacians, and is now to hear the true manner of it. They are not, in this revised version, *πύγμαχοι* at all! They love the feast and dance and other luxuries. But above all they excel in the dance. Odysseus shall see for himself, and —yet again—tell his friends how the Phaeacians 'beat everybody' *ναυτιλίῃ καὶ ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῇ*. One notes especially the *ποσσί*. It is the only reference to athletics, and is the one contest in which Odysseus had said he would *not* compete, and which his host was quite safe in mentioning. He falls back on music and the dance and his ships, and there he is on firm ground. His explanation involves a self-contradiction which has offended the critics. See for a recent statement on the point Mr. Paton in *CR* xxvi

[1] I have not seen a reason suggested for Laodamas' behaviour. Is it that he was sore at having had to give up his place of honour by his father the night before? If so, there is a parallel given by Wägner-Anson, *Epics and Romances of the Middle Ages*, 21. Similarly, the apology for the insult and the amende by the gift of a sword are paralleled, *ibid.*, 353, in Beowulf.

215 sq. The argument there takes no account of the character in which the poet presents Alkinoos. He notices, I may add, the standing difficulty of ὥς κεν . . . ἐκτελέσειεν ἀέθλους πολλούς in θ 22 sq. If it is not resolved by Merry and Riddell *a.l.*—the discus was Odysseus' 'discharge in full'—see the subsequent lines 146 sqq., 154, 184, and especially 205 sqq.

The narrative proceeds. Demodocus sings the famous Lay, on which the critics have expended so much adverse comment, and which Mr. Paton vindicates as old and genuine. There is then an exhibition of dancing and ball-play *à deux*, which moves Odysseus to a warm compliment. The effect on Alkinoos is instantaneous. 'With ravish'd ears the monarch hears.' His vanity is pleased, he has disposed of a dangerous performer, and he turns with childish delight to his audience. The stranger is really a man of sense—μάλα μοι δοκέει πεπτυμένος εἶναι—and able to appreciate outstanding ἀρετή! Such solid discernment must not go unrewarded, so the nobles are ordered each to present Odysseus with fine raiment and a talent of gold. Alkinoos includes himself, and Butler will have it that in the event the king, whom he unreasonably describes as 'out at elbows,' conveniently forgets his own money contribution. He appears, however, to contribute a golden cup in substitution.

Later there is more feasting, but Alkinoos does not get another opportunity for distinguishing himself till Odysseus' tears once more compel his attention as *rex conuiuii*. There is first the extraordinary praise of his ships. That will be considered presently. Eustathius was right when he said οὕτω πάνυ τολμᾷ ὁ Ὁμηρικὸς Ἀλκίνοος τερατεύεσθαι. But the further claim that his ships sail the sea in perfect safety leads to a delicious ending to the digression. As he boasts, he suddenly remembers an old saying of his father's that the Phaeacians' weakness for conveying strangers would get them into trouble yet, and that one day a ship so engaged would be wrecked by Poseidon, who would also in his wrath surround the city with a mountain. We expect the usual formula of pious deprecation of an evil chance, such as μὴ τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσειε or μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο. Not so from Alkinoos in his exalted mood, but τὰ δέ κεν θεὸς ἠ τελέσειεν, | ἤ κ' ἀτέλεστ' εἴη, ὥς οἱ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ. So the

devil may take the future; we 'take the good the gods provide.' Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. For the present let them enjoy themselves, and Alkinoos resumes his inquiries of the stranger with a quiet mind. The whole scene is consistent, but it has caused much heart-burning. Even Bérard would cut out the passage as *bavardage insupportable. Bavardage* it is, but just what we expect from the king when warmed by good cheer. Nitzsch's *heitere Prahler* is a quite appropriate description.

The king is evidently the chief butt of the humour of the poet when setting himself to make fun of the society as a whole—the ladies, however, excepted. Mure goes so far as to say the women 'engross the small stock of commonsense allotted to the community,' and certainly those brought on the stage seem to be intended as foils to the male actors. Areté is a noble figure, and Nausikaa, by common consent, one of the most charming and lovable figures in all literature. But, apart from the presentation of Alkinoos, there are numerous touches which indicate a spirit of irony. The athletic exhibition of this easy-going community of sailors is described almost as seriously as the *Ἆθλα* of the *Iliad*.[1] The poet obviously repeats his own phraseology. He even exceeds it when he applies to the wrestler Euryalus the epithet *βροτολοιγῷ ἶσος Ἄρηϊ*! When he says of the same athlete, *ἄριστος ἔην εἶδός τε δέμας τε πάντων Φαιήκων μετ' ἀμύμονα Λαοδάμαντα*, we can hardly fail to recall the comparison between two somewhat greater heroes, Achilles and Aias. Pointed again is the effect of Odysseus' throw on the crowd of Phaeacians. As the discus hurtles through the air, they crouch to the ground, not because the discus comes near them, but apparently alarmed by the mere noise—*λᾶας ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς*—and awestruck by the performance of a real *ἀθλητήρ*, and the poet seizes the occasion, when the wind, so to speak, has been taken out of the Phaeacian sails, to give them their full high-sounding style and title of *Φαίηκες δολιχήρετμοι, ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες*. All the preparations for the *pièce de résistance*, the dance brought on after the *éclat* of the athletic performance had been sadly marred by that horrid discus, are conceived in the same vein. The line,

[1] Jobst in a *Program*, Passau, 1909, compares the two Tournaments. After excising in each case what he deems spurious, he finds much that is common to the two narratives.

αἰσυμνῆται δὲ κριτοὶ ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέσταν[1], recalls the similar one in the *Iliad* telling how the Achaean chiefs rose to accept Hector's challenge; the preparation of the χόρος, the marking off of the lists in Γ 315; while the ball thrown about in the dance is duly ascribed to its maker, like the great shield of Aias, or the chair of state, δινωτῇ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ, in which Penelopé was wont to sit. But this their own pet display, the last infirmity of the noble Phaeacians, has a grace of its own and extorts the praise of Odysseus. The effect of the praise on the jolly monarch has already been noted. His is a temperament easily affected. There is satire in his name—the 'Strong of Intellect' (Mure), or 'Prowess-minded' (Perrin). But it should be noted that those of the supernaturalists who equate Phaeacia with the *Unterwelt* think it a splendid name for a stern lord of the infernal regions. Osterwald's *Starkherz* is yet another name for him who even in antiquity was Κρόνου πολυώνυμος υἱός.

The conclusion that the poet is, in Butler's phrase, quietly laughing in his sleeve, is not to be resisted. The motive underlying the delicate pasquinade we shall never know with certainty, but the fact has to be borne in mind in all interpretations of the *Phäakis* and inferences from its language. That the quiet raillery has been so seldom detected is due to the fact that criticism has been obsessed by the supernatural prejudice, and by the *Modekrankheit*, which left no room for appreciation of the poet's aims, that the episode is a patchwork of the remains of a number of poems or stories of different ages. That idea originated, and was mainly pursued, in Germany, 'dem klassischen Lande,' to use Rothe's expression, 'der philologischen Zergliederungen.' If any section of the epics is a finely finished whole, it is this delightful tale of the stay of Odysseus in Scheria. And yet the hash that has been made of it! The process still goes on—*insano iuuat indulgere labori*, in spite of the discouragement such principles have received even in the land of their birth. But to give an account of the dissection of the *Phäakis* is beyond my scope. I can only, with Miss Stawell, *op. cit.* 141 sqq., pay to such sacrilege the tribute of a sigh—in Pindar's words, τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος.

[1] I should now take stronger ground than I did in *CQ* vii 234 sqq. in regard to some of the cases relied on by Monro.

Let us now consider the grounds for the various fairyland theories. The first reason is that the Phaeacians have a close connexion with the gods. They are *ἀγχίθεοι* in the repeated line ϵ 35 = τ 279. Further, in η 205 sqq., Alkinoos, speaking after dinner, and 'at his best,' tells Odysseus that they are accustomed to divine appearances at sacrifice, and even to meeting gods in bodily form. In the latter case the gods *οὔ τι κατακρύπτουσιν, ἐπεί σφισιν ἐγγύθεν εἰμέν*, like the Cyclopes or those wild beings, the Gigantes. On these two words, *ἀγχίθεοι*[1] and *ἐγγύθεν*, see the note of Merry and Riddell on η 205, which gives the gist of the matter. And I find the commentators generally take both expressions as 'nearly related to the gods,' which the Phaeacians, including their royal family, certainly were by their descent from Poseidon. But in that there is nothing unusual. The alternative view, taking *ἐγγύθεν* in a local sense, is that the Phaeacians are among 'those distant nations who seemed to dwell on the confines of the world and are special favourites of the gods.' Cp. Nitzsch on η 201 sqq. But even this suits the people of Corcyra. The island is not mentioned in the *Catalogue*. It was to Homer outside the Achaean world, like the blameless Aethiopians and the good Abioi. There is no need to press *ἐγγύθεν* to mean that the Phaeacians are near the gods in the sense of inhabiting a non-terrestrial *νῆσος μακάρων*. *ἀντίθεοι*, once applied to them, is too common an epithet to require remark, and *ἀνθρώποισι διοτρεφέεσσι*, ϵ 378, in Poseidon's mouth, is probably not to be taken of the Phaeacians alone. Rather, the god is contemplating Odysseus' arrival among *ἄνθρωποι* proper, after his experience of such savages as the Cyclopes and Laestrygones. Confining it to the Phaeacians, Merry and Riddell compare *δῖοι Ἀχαιοί* or *Πελασγοί*. As to the intimate intercourse claimed by Alkinoos, that, even if it be taken seriously, is no strange thing in Greek literature, and especially in Greek epic. In the Odyssey itself, ρ 483 sqq., we have it stated that the gods wander about the earth. In Pylos, Athené *ἐναργὴς ἦλθε θεοῦ ἐς δαῖτα θάλειαν*, γ 420, 375 sqq., and at Troy Diomede, *Z* 128, seems to regard a theophany as nothing out of the common.

[1]The only other occurrence of the word in the early epic seems to be *Hymn. Ven.* 200. Its use there gives no support to the fairyists' argument. With this passage Nitzsch, on ϵ 35, quotes from Plato, *Πρίαμον ἐγγὺς θεῶν γεγονότα*.

π 161 implies that the gods appear to selected individuals or classes. Taken at its face value, Alkinoos' utterance does not exceed what the ancients believed about their remote ancestors. See a plain statement in Pausanias, viii 2, 4, and another in Hesiod, *Fragm.* 82 Rzach, and some good remarks by Nägelsbach, *op. cit.* 144 sqq.

But the unearthly nature of the Phaeacians is also evidenced by their passenger traffic. They convey home all strangers who come to them. Worse still, they convey them in their (of course the strangers') sleep, though, be it observed, we hear of only *one* case of the kind, that of Odysseus. And, worst of all, they transport their visitors in magic ships.

Their general disposition to help strangers can hardly be considered in itself very strong evidence of the supernatural. The Phaeacians are not the only *φιλόξεινοι* people in the poem, and *πομπή* is quite a familiar transaction, as γ 325, ι 518, κ 18, o 80 sqq. On the other hand, if Scheria be Corcyra, the half-way house between Achaeis and the west, the appropriateness of the attribution is evident.

But Odysseus is conveyed in a sleep described as *νήγρετος ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς*. The critic on the look out for 'copy' fastens on the mention of death, and at once evolves a theory. I pass the argument that to Homer, Ξ 231, Π 672, as to the English poet, Sleep is Death's twin brother, and that the comparison need not surprise us. Let us rather examine the circumstances. If ever a man earned sound sleep for three, or thrice three, nights in succession, it was Odysseus on this occasion. He had been thrown up on the coast after many days and nights of unceasing physical effort, and had then passed a night on a bed of leaves in the open. He has then two comfortable nights in Alkinoos' palace, but during the third he has to tell a long story, and certainly spends most of it talking hard. Surely then it is not unnatural for him to sleep a sound sleep, a very *χάλκεον ὕπνον*, on his voyage the following night. And there is no divine intervention, no *Zauber*. On the contrary, the sleep is anticipated as a matter of course by all concerned. See η 318 sq. and θ 445. The *πομπῆες* make up a bed for Odysseus in the stern-sheets, ν 70 sqq., *ἵνα νήγρετος εὕδοι*. More reasonable than the critics, they felt arrears of sleep were due their passenger, and he was given them. *ἀτρέμας εὗδε*, ν 92

—*wie ein kind*, as Preller-Robert put it. And he does not die, but wakes in Ithaka, refreshed and vigorous for the ἄεθλος ἀάατος before him. Surely this notion of Phaeacian daemons conveying the hero as mere κωφὴ γαῖα, an Οὖτις before his time, is as ill founded as any of the speculations about Scheria. The beauty of the scene ν 70-92 I suppose I must not appeal to. It has always appeared to me to be as perfect and as impressive a piece of description as is to be found in the poems, and I have been astonished to note how seldom that attracts the critic's attention. Groeger, *l.c.*, stresses the appropriateness of the *langentbehrten Schlummer*, and Hahn, *Stimmungen bei Homer*, 5, warmly praises the *unvergleichlichen Zug*, but generally the beauty of the conception, the perfect peace in which the sorely-tried wanderer reaches his native shore, remains unmarked.

The magic ships would be a stronger element in the case, if they could be taken seriously. The argument is based on the king's words in θ 555 sqq. The critics, with justice, find the whole speech lengthy, rambling and contradictory. Well, the occasion is festal, and the culminating point in the festivities has been reached. Alkinoos is in splendid form, for everything conspires to make him indulge his propensity for laudation of his people. This penchant has not long before, as we have seen, led him to a nasty fall, and we feel he must be more careful in future. But he is not. One universal proverb says, 'when the wine is in, the wit is out,' and another that 'there is no fool like an old fool.' All is unexceptionable till the king comes to the promise of a safe passage. The opportunity is irresistible. At the mention of his ships he goes off at a tangent, as the saying is, and utters a prolonged vaunt. Is it necessary or natural to take this as an assertion of matter of fact? How is it even possible? The Phaeacian king and people are described by the poet as ordinary mortal men like Odysseus himself. How are we to reconcile with that the possession of magic ships, self-propelling, endowed with intelligence, and—the earliest known use of naval camouflage—invisible? How are we to reconcile the perfect immunity from sea-risks claimed for the ships, with the distinct danger, which the king in his thoughtlessness actually discloses to his guest, from the displeasure of Poseidon? And how are we to reconcile the bombastic

enumeration of wonderful attributes with the subsequent account of the voyage and the preparations for it, which is just what the poet gives us of other trips by merely mortal vessels? See e.g. *ν* 22, 78, 113-5, which show the ship selected was navigated by ordinary methods—as we should expect from more general references, e.g. *θ* 50 sqq., *η* 319 (Alkinoos himself), and *ζ* 268 sqq. Athené praises, *η* 34 sqq., the speed of the ships, and the poet himself their owners' seamanship. The king's extravagant description is mere braggadocio—*πάνυ τερατωδέστερον*, Eustath., *καυχᾶται λέγων*, schol.—and quite in keeping with his Homeric character. His pride in his ships overleaps itself so far as to compare them to sentient beings, so well do they answer the demands of their crews.

But such fondly exaggerated descriptions are not uncommon in the mouths of those who own ships and go down to the sea in them, and are imbued with a love for the craft in which they live much of their lives. Take, for instance, the enthusiastic eulogy of the 'Falcon' in *The China Clipper*, p. 21. If she had been a living being, we are told, the sympathy of the appreciative crew could not have been livelier. They recognized how she rebelled at over-pressure, or sulked or was offended at neglect. ' "She can do everything but speak," was a common remark among the crew.' Had they been proposing her health, after a good dinner, like Alkinoos, they might like him have gone a good deal further. Hennings, *Odyssee*, 258, gives a similar reference to a modern story in which it is said of a steamer, the pet of its owner no doubt, *Man fühlt, dass die Menschen diesem gebrechlichen Dinge eine mutige Seele, einen verständigen Willen verliehen haben . . . es ist ein menschlicher Organismus*, etc. In Jack London's novel, *Adventure*, his heroine speaks of her favourite schooner as a 'witch,' a 'fairy.' Bérard, i 488, observes that men of the sea are given to exaggerating to landsmen—beings of an inferior kidney, for 'home-keeping youths have ever homely wits.' Phaeacian ships had, he notes, fifty-two[1] rowers instead of

[1]The coincidence with the number of weeks in a year has not been lost on supernaturalists. See Osterwald *op. cit.* 92, and cp. for other *Zahlenspielen* of the kind, *ibid.* 87, and Fick, *Entstehung d. Od.* 190 sqq. To those who believe the poet means no more than what he says, it seems simple to take a crew of fifty, with the *ἀρχός ναυτάων* and *κυβερνητήρ*.. Vürtheim, *De Aiacis origine*, 64, divides 52 by 13, the number of the Phaeacian *βασιλεῖς*. and gets 4, the number of *φυλαί—systema igitur Ionicum*. This is hard to follow.

the Achaean twenty. Their speed would be something for the men of the south to speak of and to magnify. It would appear to them, as Ukert says, *Geogr.* 25, *übernatürlich.* Bérard tells us how big British naval craft struck the local nautical mind in the Mediterranean on their first appearance there. A Turkish captain told of one warship that could go from Constantinople to Cairo in a day. It is a good parallel to Alkinoos and his Scheria-Euboea feat, and it was not, apparently, told at a complimentary banquet, when man turns so lightly to flights of fancy in which all his geese are swans.

But we are not done with θ 550 sqq. yet. To my thinking it is genuine, as being in perfect keeping with the character of Alkinoos. But this much has to be observed. It is the mainstay of the fairyland theory, and that theory is accepted by the great majority of the critics who have dissected the episode. Now, if there is one passage in it in regard to the spuriousness of which they are agreed, it is this one. Cut it out then, to please them, and one can cheerfully concede to them all that makes for *Märchen* in the other grounds adduced.

Next, we take the gold and silver κύνες[1] at the entrance to the palace. If you endow these with life, you are out of the world of sense at once. But even in the abode of the gods such marvels are notably rare—Dr. Leaf on Σ 376. Here there is no reason to suppose they were more than images, ἔργα ζωοῖσιν ὁμοῖα, as Pindar, *Olymp.* vii 52 sq., expresses it. See Merry and Riddell, *a.l.* The animals show no sign of life. We cannot force φυλασσέμεναι. The scholiasts' ὥστε δοκεῖν φυλάσσειν is enough. And, as someone has pertinently remarked, if the κύνες were alive, they might at least have given a bark or a growl when Odysseus approached. It is no answer to say the hero was enveloped in mist. If a mortal dog can recognize an immortal god, as in π 162 sq., an immortal hound, ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος, and expressly set for watch and ward, could surely expose a stranger sneaking past him. They were only dumb metal. All the life they have is given them by the vividness which Gladstone found in the poet's word-picture of the famous περόνη in τ 226 sqq. In

[1] I might repeat, in regard to the attitude of the Higher Criticism to the description of Alkinoos' palace and gardens, what I have just said about θ 550 sqq.

both cases we are presented with a triumph of art, and the language used is in the vein familiar from Martial's 'piscis adspicis, adde aquam natabunt.'

Again some capital has been made out of the reference to Rhadamanthys in η 321 sqq. Alkinoos is speaking, and his remarks read like brag. See what they lead up to in the last two lines of the speech—*εἰδήσεις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὅσσον ἄρισται | νῆες ἐμαί*—note the emphatic possessive—*καὶ κοῦροι*. The mention of Rhadamanthys comes about thus. The king assures Odysseus he shall be taken home, even if his destination be further away than Euboea, furthest of all lands, at least so said certain Phaeacians who were there *ὅτε τε ξανθὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν | ἦγον ἐποψόμενον Τιτυόν, Γαιήϊον υἱόν*. The fast Phaeacian cruisers went there and back on that occasion *ἄτερ καμάτοιο, ἤματι τῷ αὐτῷ*. And that is all.

Commentators have frankly given up the puzzle as to the reason for the visit to the monstrous son of Gaia. Eustathius suggested it was either simply to visit him, or to marvel at his size, *ἢ καὶ ἵνα δίκαιος ὢν σωφρονίσῃ αὐτὸν*! And they similarly despair of discovering what Rhadamanthys was doing in Scheria. What they argue from the passage is this. From δ 563 sq. (Proteus to Menelaus) it appears he was on the Elysian Plain. Therefore Scheria was in the neighbourhood of Elysium, and not, or hardly, terrestrial. This was the view of Welcker, against whom are Nitzsch, on η 316 sqq., and Rohde, *Psyche*, 71, 75 and notes, and others. It involves the assumption that Rhadamanthys was on the Plain when the Phaeacians conveyed him, but that is by no means certain.

The first question that arises is, who was this Rhadamanthys? It is generally taken for granted that he was a Cretan, and brother of Minos. In Ξ 321 sq., he and Minos are among the many illegitimate sons of Zeus, their mother being the daughter of Phoinix afterwards known to legend as Europa. Elsewhere in the poems Rhadamanthys is mentioned only in the two passages of the *Odyssey* quoted above, and in each of these he is *ξανθός*. Is he then the Rhadamanthys of the *Iliad?* In Ξ the poet might have said *τε ἰδὲ ξανθὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν*, but we cannot argue solely from the different epithet that he meant to indicate a different person. But surely a Rhadamanthys who is *ξανθός* like Menelaus

and other mainland heroes, cannot have been a Minoan?[1] And I find that doubts have been entertained as to his Cretan origin, and whether there were not two of the name.[2] See Grote, *History*, edition of 1888, i. part i. 210, quoting Ephorus and Aristotle, Friedreich, *Realien*, 519, and Roscher, s.v. *Rhadamanthys*, 78. Bethe, *Minos*, in *Rhein. Mus.* NF lxv, denies his connexion with Crete, and says he came to be brother to Minos only because in Boeotia he had been made a son of Europa. Cp. Roscher, *l.c.* 77. Radermacher, *Das Jenseits*, 98,thinks he belongs to Elysium. As Crete was μακάρων νῆσος, his transfer thither would easily be made. In fact the authorities are not at all clear about Rhadamanthys. His name remains a puzzle. See Roscher, *l.c.* 85 sq., and add Fick, *Personennamen*[2], 432, and Lewy, *Semit. Fremdwörter*, 221 sq. Bérard, i 69, thinks it Egyptian; cp. Assmann in *Philolog.* lxvii 173. The *-nth-* ending is significant to some.

But one thing seems certain, that the inference that Scheria is non-terrestrial is unwarranted. Elysium is on the earth, and mortals sent there retain their mortality. They are by a special dispensation exempted from the common lot—Gladstone, *Synchronism*, 228, and cp. Rohde in *Rhein. Mus.* L 29 n., who characterizes E. Meyer's view that those housed in Elysium are *Gottheiten* as 'unprovable and not in the least probable.' Cp. also Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Elysium*, 2470. That is clear also from the passage in δ. Menelaus is not to die, and the beings on the Plain to which he is to be translated are ἄνθρωποι, who live a very pleasant life.[3] Only in later times was Elysium made extra-terrestrial—Miss Hutchinson, *Aeacus*, 42. That the Elysian Plain is conceived as near Scheria need not disturb us, even if it be the fact. All that is said of its position in δ 561 sqq. is that it is at the πείρατα γαίης. Cp. ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης, *Hym. Ven.* 217, of Tithonos, a mortal still and enjoying the society of a goddess, but somewhere on earth, not in Olympus, and Hesiod, *Opp.* 167 sqq. These indications agree with the tradition that by Scheria was meant Corcyra. There had been voyagings to the

[1] Miss Harrison, *Prolegg.* 611, accepts the quaint suggestion of Eustathius that he is so described in δ 564 πρὸς ἡδονὴν Μενελάῳ!

[2] In Minos' case a similar doubt has been restated by Professor Ridgeway.

[3] So Burnet, *The Socratic Doctrine of the Soul*, 14. 'These really do not die at all.'

West before the first millennium B.C. opens with the foundation of colonies there—cp. Sir W. Ramsay in *CJ* xiii 70. Corcyra was just beyond the Achaean world, and beyond it again was the unknown or the little known West, in which the folk located Elysium and other wonderful places. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico* or *pro horrifico*, and the peoples who were rumoured to live beyond an unexplored mountain tract, or across a *μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης*, came to be regarded as no ordinary mortals. Popular imagination was fed by sailors' stories which were inspired by two motives, the glorification of their own exploits and the desire to deter others from following in their tracks. Polybius, iv 42, 7, quoted by Preller, *Aufsätze*, 463, describes these as *ἡ τῶν πλοϊζομένων ψευδολογία καὶ τερατεία*, and imagination went to one extreme or the other. In the dimly known West there was, as Hepp puts it, *Politisches u. Sociales aus d. Il. u. Od.* 63, 'alles Geheimnissvolle was das Menschenherz anziehen und abschrecken kann.' The unknown peoples were either savage ogres, like the Cyclopes or the Laestrygones, or gentle favourites of the gods, as the Hyperboreans[1]—Pauly-Wissowa, *l.c.* 2475, or dwellers in *Insulae Fortunatae*, like the inhabitants of the Delectable Land fabled by the people of Western Europe to lie far away in the West—Stjerna, *op. cit.* 104. Cp. the 'island-valley of Avilion,' where Arthur was to heal him of his grievous wound. The Adriatic, in which the Minoans appear to have traded, was later a *mare clausum* to the Achaeans, and, considering what they knew of the general amenity of Corcyra, it may well be that they located Elysium in some island farther up the Adriatic coast.—Since writing this section I have had access to Malten's excellent paper *Elysion u. Rhadamanthys* in the *Archäol. Jahrb.* 1913, 35 sqq., but as he expressly refrains from inferences from the passage in *η*, it has not helped me. Good grounds are adduced for believing that Rhadamanthys was in origin a Cretan divinity, but some considerations which tell against that view seem to be overlooked. To the Greeks he had become merely a *Mann der Vorzeit*.

And, finally, the Phaeacians are sometimes said to be non-human because they are classed with the Cyclopes and

[1]On whom see Miss Macurdy's interesting paper in *CR* xxx 180 sqq. For the meaning of the name we have either 'above the Bora, or Balkans,' or 'behind the north wind.'

Gigantes, as when Alkinoos says they are nearly related to the gods, ὥσπερ Κύκλωπές τε καὶ ἄγρια φῦλα Γιγάντων. But these latter are only the wild tribes of the West, inhabiting coasts as little known as once were the 'Bermoothes,' which were supposed to be 'inchanted and inhabited with witches and deuills.' They are on a par with the Kentauroi or Pheres ('hairy beasts') of Thessaly, on whom see Wace and Thompson, *Prehc. Thessaly*, 252, and Fick, *Hattid.* 29. The Kyklopes and Gigantes are not divine or semi-divine beings as they were to later Greek mythology from Hesiod's time, but merely peoples still living in conditions of prehistoric savagery. As Uschold, *Gesch. d. Troj. Krieges*, 248, puts it, they were 'rohe Nomaden,' and only later through exaggeration in story made into 'Ungeheuren.' That was understood in antiquity, e.g. by Pausanias, viii 29.2—θνητοὺς ὄντας καὶ οὐ θεῖον γένος. They were not regarded by Homer as ordinary ἄνδρες or ἄνθρωποι; that is clear from κ 120 of the Gigantes and φ 303 of the Kentauroi. But they were human beings all the same, ζ 5 and η 57, though almost superhuman in their brutal savagery. They may be called divine by descent, but so were the Phaeacians, and many Achaean and all other ἄνδρες. Farnell, *Cults*, iv 23 n., observes, *à propos* of Beloch's view of the Minyans, that very real peoples have fabulous and divine ancestors. The wild ways of such folk beyond the pale were exaggerated as a matter of course.[1] That is how Giants have come into existence in other parts of the world. See 'Giant' in the *Encycl. Brit.* For Palestine see Macalister, *The Philistines*, 60, for Albion and Erin, Mackenzie, *op. cit.* 331, and for the Anglo-Saxon conception, Stjerna, *op. cit.* 38.

This completes the tale of the grounds, and I think we may say θύραζε Κῆρες! and fairly hope that their Anthesteria is done. There is no basis for a theory. The *märchenhaft* idea ran the usual Homeric course. It got a start, became the mode, and rose to the position of an accepted tenet, admitting of 'no dispute.' It was so tempting, as Mülder has remarked, *Phäakendichtung*, 12, to withdraw the improbable and the not readily intelligible from criticism by means of the *märchenhaft* label. The matter in the narrative was anything but what it seemed to be. Prepossession thus prevented an ordinary, everyday, human interpretation, or a proper

[1]Cp. Norlin in *CP* xii, 352.

investigation of the significance of the incidents of the Phaeacian episode. There must be supernaturalness, and 'each one as before did chase His favourite phantom.' It is by similar procedure, as Kroll points out, *l.c.* 180, that 'echte Sage' are often determined. An inquirer accepts a popular theory, and 'saga' is genuine if it fits it. In our case a community of mortals has been elevated to supernatural dignity because a poet mixes some unappreciated chaff in his description of their ways.

SCHERIA—CORCYRA I

CP XIII (1918)

In two papers to be published in the *CQ* I have suggested that there is in the Homeric text no real reason for believing that there is anything supernatural about Scheria or the Phaeacians. Here I shall urge that the picture is not imaginary, that the poet was describing a people who dwelt on earth, and that Bérard is right in locating them, where the ancients put them, on the island of Corcyra. And first I would insist against the fairyists on the humanness of the Phaeacian episode.

Thus the account of their settling in Scheria, ζ 4 ff., has all the appearance of history, and reads exactly like one of the ἱστορίαι of the *Catalogue*. Professor Myres seems to accept it as such (*Geogr. Aspects of Gk. Colonisn.*, p. 60, note). The Phaeacians have a political constitution, which Fanta and other writers regard with all seriousness. The women[1] occupy as high a position as those of the Achaean communities to the south, and they are, even to Lawton, who is far from minimizing the fairy element, 'absolutely human.' For Nausikaa he quotes, 'who, pray, is alive, if she be dead?' (*Art and Humanity in Homer*, pp. 193, 241 f.). Wight Duff (*Homer and Beowulf*, p. 12) speaks of the poet's 'mastery of the mind of girlhood in Nausikaa.' Again, every trait of

[1]The inferences as to a γυναικοκρατία and the oriental nature of the polity I need not discuss. The former at least is based on no real evidence.

the character of the Phaeacians marks them off from the uncivilized races of the non-Achaean world. They are among those classed as φιλόξεινοι, and they have the νόος θεουδής. The poet represents them as knowing and worshiping the great divinities of their Achaean neighbours. They have a fertile land and they till it, but they are essentially seamen. Their wealth and prosperity seem to be the fruit of maritime trade, while a piratical expedition—so to interpret η 9 f.—is no more unfamiliar to them than to the Achaean races to the south. They fortify their own town against similar raids. They appreciate the Tale of Troy, and Odysseus can assume their familiarity with the great Achaean enterprise and with the heroes of a bygone generation. In their home life, they are easygoing and good-natured, but perhaps somewhat spoiled by prosperity and exclusiveness. That may even lead to a contretemps where a stranger is concerned. They have talents of gold, and their king has a noble residence and gardens to match; they are artistic, and they are athletic after a fashion of their own, which is rather below the Achaean way as exhibited by their great Achaean visitor.[1] They marry and are given in marriage, and the children succeed to their fathers' estates. The dramatis personae among them have names with a human, mortal ring; there are no Oberons, Pucks, or Pease Blossoms. The description of the people has, as has more than once been remarked, the air of a drawing from real life, and is as much a καλὸν κάτοπτρον τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου as any other part of the epic.

But it is unnecessary to labour this point, for there are many even among those who do not allow a picture from life known to the poet who nevertheless admit that the Phaeacians are presented to us as real human beings. Even Welcker, after all his theorizings, admits that they are *nach Verfassung und Sitte* Hellenic.[2] So E. Meyer in *Hermes*, xxx 273—the ghostly 'middlemen between the living and the dead' become an Ionic *Idealstaat* of comfortable seafolk. Monro accepts the *Märchenhaft* in the story, but admits 'a human interest which rises far above that level' (cf. Chadwick, *The*

[1] Fick, *Entstehung*, p. 65, seems to object to the *Phäakis* for exhibiting Odysseus *als ein grosser Sportsmann*, meaning, I presume, a Winkle-ification of the hero.

[2] Gruhn, who is apt to be over enthusiastic, pronounces them Ἕλληνες κατ' ἐξοχήν.

Heroic Age, pp. 297 f. and p. 304, note; Hayman, ii, App. G1 and G2; and Menrad, *Urmythus*, p. 41). To Trenkel (*Zur Phäakis*, p. 11) the people are in many respects *normale Sterbliche*. In spite of the fairydom prepossession, sober inquirers find real humanness, though not a separate living race known to the poet. Perhaps some of them might have difficulty in saying exactly what they mean when they say the episode is pure *Märchen*, for that, taken literally, is an impossible description. But apparently their attitude is something like this, a fairy groundwork, conversion of the fairies into human beings, but the final outcome an imaginary people that never was on land or sea. So we may now turn to our own reasons for asserting that the Phaeacians were a community actually known to the poet.

First we have the ancient tradition that Scheria was Corcyra. For this Thucydides is usually quoted (i 25: καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἐχόντων [*sc.* Κερκυραίων] τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, and iii. 70), mentioning a τέμενος on the island still known in the historian's day as τοῦ Ἀλκίνου. The first passage is taken by Professor Perrin, on ε 34, as disparaging to Corcyra's claim, but that does not seem to be the general view. See the translations by Jowett and Arnold, and by Zimmern (*Gk. Commonwealth*, p. 414). The question is, What value is to be attached to the tradition? Is it the mere repetition of an idle aspiration, or is a tradition reported by the great historian, who, as his early chapters show, was interested in the *Troica*, and had considered how far the stories from prehistory could be accepted as true, worthy of respect? It certainly cannot be lightly disregarded. In these days tradition which has all the appearance of mere myth is often found to be confirmed by archaeological, ethnological, and linguistic research, and this one is of a higher order. It relates a simple matter of fact in itself quite worthy of credence.

In estimating it, there are apparently three points to be considered. (1) Was the Corcyraean claim ever questioned in antiquity? So far as my reading has gone, I think the answer must be in the negative, and I observe that Schädel (*Das epische Thema der Od.*, p. 25) distinctly says the claim stood *fest*. He refers to Strabo vii 36 for Callimachus' support. (2) Did it go far back? On that point see Thomson's

Studies in the Odyssey (p. 86, note): 'Scheria was very early identified with Corcyra.' The *Naupaktia*, which is the authority, was by some ascribed to Hesiod, and if the connection was 'suggested by the *Odyssey*,' so much the better for present purposes. Reference may also be made to Roscher (*s.v.* 'Phäaken,' p. 2210), quoting Wilamowitz (*HU* pp. 170 ff.). Gruppe (*Griech. Mythol.*, p. 393) thinks the identification may have been familiar to the oldest lays of the *Odyssey*, but these he makes comparatively modern, which cannot be admitted. And (3) we must inquire whether there is any confirmation to be found in the Homeric text. It seems to me that there is a great deal that is consistent with, and seems to indicate, a place in the position of Corcyra, but before stating it in detail, a subsidiary question has to be examined.

This question is, Was Phaeacia an island? The great majority of the commentators believe that this is implied, and the authorities freely refer to Scheria as 'the island' (see Belzner, *Land u. Heimat*, note on pp. 35 f.). It is true that Homer nowhere applies to it the term *νῆσος*, and that he calls it the *γαῖα Φαιήκων*, but that is of no importance. It has been observed by Hayman (iii xci), that 'the Homeric island is always one which can be seen at a glance to be such.' An island of large size is a *γαῖα*; so in *τ* 172 for Crete, which is nowhere called a *νῆσος*, *Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι*. But the description of Scheria in *ζ* 204 seems to me quite conclusive, though Merry and Riddell hesitate. Nausikaa's words there are, *οἰκέομεν δ' ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ*. The word *ἀπάνευθε* may not be significant, though *ι* 126 may be compared. But surely a mainland site could not be described as *ἐνὶ πόντῳ*, '*in* the sea.' I observe that *τ* 172, quoted above, ends, *μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ*. Compare *δ* 354 of Pharos and 844 of Asteris, *η* 244, and cf. *δ* 498 and *α* 197 of Calypso's Isle, and *ι* 25 of Ithaca, noting the added words in the last two cases, *ἀπόπροθεν* and *παυπερτάτη*, and comparing them with *ἀπάνευθε* for Scheria. All the occurrences, including even *γ* 294, where Merry and Riddell seem to be right as to the 'isolated rock,' point the same way. I might also compare Apollonius Rhodius iv 983, of this same Corcyra, *Κεραυνίῃ εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσος*. Lehrs (*Klein. Schrif.*, p. 12) tells us that Goethe, after he knew the islands of the

Mediterranean, wrote 'durch das Treiben der Phäaken wehe etwas so inselhaftes.' And I hope I may claim the support of all who identify Scheria with Crete.

The comparison of Scheria, as first seen from a distance by Odysseus, to a shield, in ε 281, εἴσατο δ' ὡς ὅτε ῥινὸν ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ, has caused unnecessary difficulty. Platt's note is *scio ὅτε ῥινόν nihil omnino significare*. But see Perrin, Ameis-Hentze, Hayman, Nitzsch, and Merry and Riddell, *ad loc.* The comparison to a shield has been considered quite natural. Mure (*Tour in Greece*, p. 4), who approached Corfu like Odysseus, from the north, quotes the verse as very appropriate. Fick (*Hattid*, p. 16) says 'öfter werden kleine Inseln mit einem Schilde verglichen,' and the comparison must appeal to all who have made long voyages. Compare Breusing (*Nautisches* in *NJbb* [1886], pp. 81 ff.), who quotes an old περίπλους.

We next have to ask whether the text lends any colour to the identification. In the first place I notice a number of indications that Scheria was not in the great unknown of the western seas in which the other adventures are placed, but rather on the frontier *wo Barbarei anfängt*. The Scherian episode is differentiated from these by a number of marks. It is the last of the series. The first, with the Kikones, was in a known country; the last one seems to be the same. All between are in the unknown, and the Phaeacian experience differs from all the others in this, that it is the only one in which the hero is not subjected to outrage, harm, or duress. The πολλὰ ἐν πόντῳ ἄλγεα of α 4 were over and done with when he reached Phaeacia. He had come to a locality which is described in ζ 8 as ἑκὰς ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων. Various interpretations have been suggested, but that of Nitzsch *ad loc.* seems to suit the context better than any other—ἀλφηστής = *erwerb, d.h. raublustige*, which the Phaeacians' former neighbours, the Cyclopes, had shown themselves to be. The ancients could not agree about the word. Aeschylus and Sophocles differed in their use of it. It may be observed that Nitzsch's interpretation is good for the only other two occurrences in ancient epic, ν 261 and *Hym. Ap.* 458. Hesiod's use seems to be different.

Poseidon's power over Odysseus was now at an end, as is shown by many references, especially in ε, and Athené's be-

came operative. Only when the hero is close to Scheria does the goddess venture to give him a little help. Both the divinities are worshipped in Scheria; one has a temple, the other a grove. It is a meeting-place of the great god of the unknown and of the patroness of the Achaean heroes of the *Troica*. And it is a locality which is only a night's journey by sea from Ithaka, while it is seventeen days on a raft with a sail and following wind from the last place mentioned in the Far West. Surely after this long traversing of the *μέγα λαῖτμα* Odysseus is back to civilized humankind. His first words on awakening in Scheria, *τέων αὖτε βροτῶν*, seem to confirm this.[1] So do those of Zeus in ε 34 ff. He ordains that the Phaeacians shall convey Odysseus home in a ship—*νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης* are Teiresias' words and they have a quite human workaday sound—and give him splendid gifts. And gifts he received and became the *ξεῖνος* of their king, whose daughter he might have married. That was not the sort of treatment he had received—*οὔ τι κομιζόμενός γε θάμιζεν* —in the unknown. He must get from there to a country of real seamen who, unlike its horrid denizens, have ships at their disposal (ε 15 ff., and cf. 141 f. and other passages). The very first words about the Phaeacian settlement in ζ 9 ff. seem to point the contrast between savagery and civilization. The expression used by Alkinoos, θ 29, *ἠὲ πρὸς ἠοίων ἢ ἑσπερίων ἀνθρώπων*, seems very appropriate in the mouth of a dweller in Corcyra, situated as it was between Greece and the West. And the words of Odysseus in ν 205 f., *ἄλλον ὑπερμενέων βασιλήων*, appear to class the Phaeacian king with other earthly potentates in the neighbourhood.

What was this neighbourhood? It could not be far from Ithaka. The Phaeacian ship, worked by human sailors and not by demons, takes only the time to reach that place that Telemachus took from there to Pylos. The former is a somewhat longer journey, but an Ithakan crew was not to be compared either in number or skill with a Phaeacian. For the reasons for sailing by night reference may be made to Bérard's pages on the Ithaka-Pylos voyage. And, again, that Scheria was not very far from Ithaka is made probable by the *πρὶν εἰδότες* of ν 113; the Phaeacian sailors were familiar with the landing-place. They might well be, if they inhabited

[1] Shorey, in *CP* xxiii 286, differs.

Corcyra. There would surely be intercourse between the two islands. Corcyra must have been well known to Minoans and Mycenaeans. Traffic from Greece to Sicily and Italy, though no doubt in favourable conditions it would go direct, must have, as a rule, gone up to Corcyra and thence across the mouth of the Adriatic. ἡ Κέρκυρα τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται (Thuc. i 36; cf. Bursian, *op. cit.*, ii 359, on the island's 'unvergleichliche Lage für den Verkehr nach Westen'[1]). The people of Corcyra may well have acquired the métier of πομπῆες or pilots, but of human beings still alive, not of the dead bound for another world. Some of those who have written on the subject, as Schädel, have dated the Scheria-Corcyra equation to the time when Corcyra became well known through this coasting traffic, but they put that period long after Mycenaean times. Schädel wrote in 1890. Had he known what we know now of the Minoans and Mycenaeans he might have put his date much farther back. Hall (*OCG* 258 and note) thinks it curious that the epic does not mention Corcyra. It would indeed be strange if that island, no doubt already in those early days famous for its size and position and for the prowess of its mariners, had not been given a place in the story of the great πλάνη. It is there, and the use the poet has made of it as the wanderer's last stage is just what all the circumstances would lead us to expect.

And the island must have been famous from the same remote period for its climate and fertility. The stories of its connection with Dionysos, Demeter, and the daughter of Aristaeus are very ancient evidence. For modern times I need only refer to monographs on Corfu, such as that of Partsch, the dictionaries, such as Roscher's, the geographies, and the many works of travel describing the Ionian Islands, as proving that it has generally been considered 'the most beautiful of all the Greek isles,' and as exhibiting its 'capacity for commerce and enterprise,' its 'exuberant fertility,' 'the attractions of the soil,' and the amenity of the climate. I could fill pages from my notes. I only observe that the Homeric Scheria—ἐρατεινή and ἐρίβωλος—is admitted to have been just such an earthly paradise as Corfu, though the εἰρηνικὸς

[1]Emigrants from Crete settled on another coast having great facilities for trade (Macalister, *The Philistines*, p. 114).

βίος of its people as described by Homer—χωρικὴν ἰδιότητα ἱστορῶν, Eustathius—has been exaggerated and distorted into a βίος ἀπολαυστικός, and themselves styled τρυφεροί and ἁβροδίαιται, thanks mainly to Horace's travesty of a passage in one of the speeches of the garrulous Alkinoos. The poet may have embellished somewhat, as in the description of the king's orchard, but Bérard (i 537 ff.) enlarges on the beauty of a garden of some monks at the spot in Corfu which he identifies with Scheria. It is of this spot, Palaiocastrizza, that Ansted (*The Ionian Islands*, p. 80) quotes the glowing description of Baron Theotoki, a native historian of Corfu. The burden is that 'he whose sorrow no relief can find' should repair thither, and find in it a peace and beauty which few other places on earth can offer.

But there are two matters in the Homeric text which seem to be more direct evidence of the truth of the tradition. The first has been dwelt on ever since the whereabouts of Scheria has exercised the minds of men. I mean the mention of the Thesprotians in connection with the last stage of Odysseus' wanderings. I may refer to Friedreich, to Völcker, to Nitzsch (*Anmkgn.*, ii 72 ff.), to Gandar, to Hayman, and to many others. Compare Roscher (*s.v.* 'Phäaken,' p. 2209), and see also Wilamowitz (*HU* 162), E. Meyer (*Hermes*, xxx 254 f. and 262), and Gercke (*Deutsche Rundschau* [1909], p. 346) on the Thesprotis epos and a legend of Odysseus' return from Troy overland through Thesprotia. The Homeric references are briefly these. In ξ 314 ff. (cf. ρ 525 ff.) the disguised Odysseus tells how he came to Ithaka from Thesprotia, that is, from part of the mainland opposite Corcyra, and how the king, Pheidon, sent him thence in a ship. In Thesprotia he heard of the real Odysseus arranging to return home; so in τ 271 ff., according to which the hero is at the stage which he has reached in Phaeacia in the narrative of ε—ν. He has been cast ashore on the land of the Phaeacians, who would have sent him home, but he preferred to gather gear in Thesprotia first. That country seems to be so close to Scheria that the passage thither is not worth mentioning, though minute detail is one of the characteristics of these fictions of the beggar man, which, be it observed, are described by the poet as ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. It seems quite reasonable to accept these references as meaning that Scheria was in the

vicinity of Epirus, of which Corcyra was really a part. Bérard (i 136) quotes a consular report as saying 'geographically Corfu is an Albanian'—Homer would have said Thesprotian—'island.' Compare Hogarth (*The Nearer East*, pp. 17, 119), this 'favoured fragment of lower Albania,' and 'epitome of all the excellences of Epirus.'

And, again, there is mentioned (η 7 ff.) an old servant of the royal household, who had been taken in a foray, γρηῦς Ἀπειραίη . . . τήν ποτ' Ἀπείρηθεν νέες ἤγαγον. Where was her country, Apeiré? The seekers after the supernatural say it is evidently the 'boundless land,' and that seems a reasonable explanation on the face of the word, but it takes us no farther, so they explain that the country meant is really a *weissnichtwo*; so Liddell and Scott, 'limitless-land, an imaginary place.' Such a locality would be a strange one for a raid. Others again, and the belief goes back to the scholia, on η 8 and ζ 200, see in Ἀπείρη only another form of Ἤπειρος, and hold that the mention of Epirus as the scene of a piratical expedition is good evidence to support the identification of Scheria with Corcyra. The philologists do not appear to agree as to the origin or connection of the two names. But if, as some think, Ἤπειρος means *undurchfahrbar* or impassable, a meaning which Ἀπείρη also could bear, there is no denying the appropriateness of either name to the eastern coast of the Adriatic, which is one notoriously unfavourable to intercourse from the sea. See Myres (*loc. cit*) quoting Mahaffy. But from Boisacq, *s.v.* ἤπειρος, it appears that recent authorities favour a connection with German *Ufer* and Anglo-Saxon *Ofer*, 'shore.' At any rate, according to Roscher (*s.v.* 'Phäaken,' p. 2215), as many authorities take Ἀπείρη for Epirus as for an *unbegrenzte Fabelland*.

Kretschmer (*Einleitung*, p. 281) provides the most valuable hint of all. He does not appear to consider the name Ἤπειρος, but believes the Phaeacian 'saga' is *epirotisch*, and tells us there was actually a place in Chaonia called Βαιάκη, a name which 'with un-Greek β for φ' is really identical with Φαιακία. See Fick (*Ortsn.*, p. 85), Chadwick (*op. cit.*, pp. 297 f.), and Allen (*JHS* xxx 303). Minoan contact seems to be shown by the place-name Φοινίκη, (Fick, *Ortsn.*, p. 123, and Bursian, *op. cit.*, i 17). Tümpel in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Arybas,' connects the Eumaeus biography in ο 403 ff. with this

Phoiniké. But the story says Arybas, father of Eumaeus' nurse, belonged to Sidon. And Eumaeus' father did not live, as stated by Tümpel, in Ithaka. The interest of the matter is only this, that Arybas is a Phoenician name, and there was a historical king of the Molossi, Arybbas. But on the whole I come to Schlichthorst's conclusion (*Geogr.*, p. 118, note), 'Corcyram intelligendam esse multa Homeri loca, in primis ξ 314 sqq., declarant.' Even if *Ἀπείρη* must be taken as 'limitless-land,' the wild, unknown, and unexplored hinterland of Albania and Dalmatia seems to suit better than a Nephelococcygia as the original domicile of the very human old attendant of Nausikaa. It is she who ministers to the girl's comfort, after her picnic to the river with the adventure that had touched her maiden heart, lighting her fire for her and providing her with the Minoan equivalent of 'a nice cup of tea' (η 7 ff.).

And in addition to all this we have Bérard's elaborate demonstration (i 481-591) that Scheria was in Corcyra. Dörpfeld agrees with the French explorer that it was in the north-west of the island. Some time ago I described Bérard's proof as overwhelmingly strong, and was rebuked for doing so. But I am quite unrepentant. I had read his pages more than once when I ventured that opinion, and I have read them carefully yet again, and I can say only that I do not understand how anyone who does so, referring to the maps at every point, can doubt that Bérard has rediscovered Scheria. On only one point, and it is one of many, does the proof falter, or rather appear to falter. The rock Karavi,[1] which is the image of a ship under sail, is not, as it ought to be according to Homer's narrative, in sight of Palaiocastrizza, where the Phaeacians, if Bérard is right, sat watching the vessel when Poseidon smote it and *λᾶαν ἔθηκε καὶ ἐρρίζωσεν ἔνερθε* (ν 163 f.). The poet, for the purpose of his tale, and wishing to add an impressive incident, moves the rock ship nearer the Phaeacian settlement, just as he adapts the islet of Asteris to the requirements of his account of Telemachus' voyage from Ithaka to Pylos and back. He takes a liberty with the topography, but one so trifling and so natural that no one can

[1]This is the modern Greek word *Καράβι*, and it means *le bateau*. The rock near the present town of Corfu on the east of the island is like a wrecked and submerged vessel. Beyond all doubt the rock on the north-west suits and originated the Homeric story.

quarrel with him. As Bérard says, the poet 'n'invente . . . il arrange et dispose,' and in doing so shows his personal knowledge. It would be ridiculous to suggest that this small discrepancy can avail to invalidate the mass of other evidence adduced. This stone ship, I may add here, is one of the important points in, I might almost say the basis of, Champault's case for Ischia. The transformation must mean the effect of a volcanic eruption, and therefore Scheria must be in a region that suffers from earthquakes! There is no such necessity. And, as for the mountain that was, also by Poseidon's agency, to envelop (ἀμφικαλύπτειν) Scheria, it is there as it was probably seen by Homer and as it moved his fancy to combine it with the προπεμπτικόν propensity of his Phaeacian hosts. Compare Bérard (i 432)—'le dieu "recouvre, tout autour, d'une haute montagne" cette baie profonde, presque inaccessible aux terriens.' The Phaeacians had their ships to protect them from the sea, and the mountain to give them seclusion from, and a rampart to defy, *les indigénes*. Nausikaa's boast as to their security, in ζ 200 ff., had reason in it.

Bérard's work was most cordially received in this country. His conclusion as to the existence of something like Phoenician *Instructions Nautiques* was thought an extreme one on the evidence, and there were of course different opinions as to individual identifications of Homeric sites, but generally it was felt that he had shown beyond all question that there was a large measure of reality in the geography of the *Odyssey*. German criticism, not yet completely awake after the debauch of the last century, paid it no great attention. Cauer (*NJbb* xiii 598) gave the two volumes a page, in which he seemed willing to wound but afraid to strike. He wanted to ridicule their contents, but instead almost ended with a blessing. In *B ph W* (1903), Nos. 26 and 27, there is a long running commentary by Lewy—himself the author of a well-known book on Semitic words in Greek—in which exception is taken to a number of Bérard's derivations from the same source of Mediterranean place-names. In regard to this it is only necessary, for present purposes, to remark that he does not appear to object to Bérard's dealings with the names that are connected with the Phaeacian episode. Bérard interprets Scheria as 'black' and compares the

ancient name of the island of Curzola in the Adriatic, *Κέρκυρα Μελαίνη*. Lewy thinks the latter appellation was to distinguish Curzola from Corcyra, which could not therefore be 'black,' and it is one of Champault's arguments for Ischia that Corcyra, where the rocks are calcareous, could not be so described, while for Ischia with its trachyte the description would be appropriate. But the objection cannot stand. The dark appearance of Corfu was noted by Mure (*loc. cit.*) when sailing toward it as due to the abundant wood on it, the *δάσκιος ὕλη* of ε 470, though he seems to be wrong in quoting Apollonius Rhodius iv 569, which refers to Curzola. See Mooney, *ad loc.*

In France, Champault, in his *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée*, essays to prove Scheria is Ischia, and gives some, as they appear to me, feeble and easily answered reasons for rejecting Bérard's identification. These have been approved by Hennings in the *Zeitschr. f. d. öster. Gym.* (1910),[1] but Hennings is a Homerist whose theorizings on the composition and the geography of the *Odyssey* few will accept except the extreme dissectors. On his methods with the text see Allen in *CR* xix 359. I cannot of course give Bérard's reasons in full, nor can I discuss the considerations on which Champault relies. To do so would require a paper as long as my present one. I can only refer readers to the two works, to the methods of their authors—Bérard's patient investigations on the spot being borne in mind[2]—and to the opinions of critics in their reviews of each book. I cannot ascertain that Champault's has ever been taken seriously, unless by Hennings and to some extent in *Jb. d. Philol. Vereins* ([1912], pp. 3 ff.) by Rothe, who was attracted by the author's evident belief in Homeric unity and historicity. For the rest, the conclusions have generally been treated as merely farcical. The following are the notices of which I have a record: Harder in *W kl Phil* ([1906], pp. 968 ff.], 'vorgefasstes Urteil and überreiche Phantasie'; *JHS* [1907], pp. 185 f.), reviewer merely amused; Allen in *CR* xx 470, a

[1] Also, as I now see, by Allinson in *CW* x 63, who also rejects the identification with Ischia. A full criticism of Bérard is greatly to be desired. But I think I saw it stated some time ago that a second edition of his book is in preparation.—The second edition has since appeared. Also *Les Navigations d'Ulysse* in four volumes, and an edition of the *Odyssey* in four volumes with an Introduction in two.

[2] I think Champault states that he visited Ischia. I am not aware whether he and Hennings are familiar with the north-west coast of Corfu.

caricature; by this process any island in the Mediterranean could be the home of Alkinoos; and Drerup in his *Homer*[2] (p. 140), 'die wunderliche, Bérard's Phoinikomanie übertrümpfende These,' and in *Literar. Zentralbl.* ([1906], pp. 865 f.), 'die wahre Geschichte der Phäaken und des Homer, die ein Hellanikos nicht exakter hätte schreiben können.' Gruhn (*op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff.) annihilates—*more suo*—Bérard, Champault, and Hennings, all three. But he has some sound enough remarks on the etymological attempts on the names Σχερίη and Φαίηκες.

These have been many and various. In regard to the former, I need not dwell on the efforts of *Volksetymologie*, such as the derivation from σχεῖν, on which see e.g., Walther in *Diss. philol. Halenses*, xii 15. It is on a par with the connection which was invented between another name of Corcyra, Drepanon, or Drepané, and the sickle once used on Father Kronos with murderous effect, a story the origin of which has been well explained by Bérard. For Scheria itself many favour as etymon σχέρος in the sense of *continens*, *Festland*, and they have the authority of Kretschmer, *loc. cit.* But it is hard to believe that Homer invented for his island a name implying that it was part of the adjacent mainland. See Bérard (i 491), where the foregoing etymologies are discussed. Krichenbauer (*Die Irrfahrt des Ods.*, p. 98) would derive the name from σκέλος (*die schenkelförmige Insel*) and make Τρινακρίη, Σικελίη, and Σχερίη identical. The more general opinion now seems to be that Σχερίη is Semitic. Lewy (*Semit. Fremdw.*, p. 211) referred it to a root which gives the meaning *die Verschlossene*. The name would be explained by Poseidon's inclosing mountain. In the same place (and see p. 152) Lewy, apparently the first to make the suggestion, connects Κέρκυρα with κέρκουρος, the name of a lightship employed by the Phoenicians (Herodotus vii. 96, 97), The equation is used by Bérard in his linguistic discussion (cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 712 note, and Roscher, *s.v.* 'Phäaken,' p. 2211). Mure thought Σχερίη was from the Phoenician *scher*, an emporium or busy port.

The explanation of the name of the people, Φαίηκες or Φαίακες, has been equally difficult. The fairyists are here divided. Those who approve of Welcker's view connect the name with φαιός, 'dusky,' *dunkel*. The Phaeacians are the

'grey men' of Wilamowitz, E. Meyer, and others. The followers of Gerland, on the other hand, and many others make the signification the exact opposite, referring the name to the root *φαF-*, *leuchten*; so Ploix (*op. cit.*, p. 176); the Phaeacians are *devas*, the root being *bha-*, *briller*. Goerres (*Griech. Mythol.* i 215 f.) sees in them the 'boar-folk,' as Phaia was the name of the Boar of Krommyon. Osterwald (*Hermes-Odysseus*, p. 54) equates *Αἰακός*, *Faιακός*, *Φαιακός*, apparently oblivious of quantities, and sees in the equation confirmation of his theory of the Phaeacian nature. Mure derived the people's name from the Semitic *phäik*, 'magnificent,' of which their epithet *ἀγαυοί* is a Greek translation. But he saw in *Φαίηκες* a pseudonym for *Φοίνικες*, which would be quite in keeping with the humour of the whole description of Phaeacia. I have little doubt that Mure was right, and it is a remarkable thing that one of the latest discussions of the word *Φοίνικες* (by Aly in *Glotta* v 74 ff.) ends by referring both it and *Φαίηκες to the same root*.

Bérard has explained so much more than any other inquirer and his whole chain of proof hangs so well together that I am, as I have said, quite satisfied that he is right. But as regards his onomastic, and especially his name-parallels, views will differ. Lewy, as we have seen, objects to some of them, and only Semitic experts can finally decide. Allen (*CR* xx 470) says that they are the most disputable part of Bérard's book, and that is no doubt said on good authority. My own experience is different. A Semitic scholar from whom I asked an opinion on this very point replied, 'The cases I have looked into seem quite convincing to a Semitic student,' and he commended the general method as clear and careful. Miller, 'Die Geographie des Odyssee,' in *Preuss. Jahrb.* ([1904], p. 303) counts some fifty cases in which the double name of a place has thus been explained by Bérard. Champault's onomastic is unworthy of any consideration. He converts Scheria into Ischia. It would be as easy to make it Sikelia or Schiperi (Albania); Gruhn can get Pithecusa out of it! As to the name of the people, that is according to Champault, from *φαιός*, *noir*, and *ἠκή*, 'forme ionienne pour *ἀκή*, pointe ou sommet,' on which see Allen *ut supra*.

But the linguistic side of Bérard's proof must remain with

the experts. I can only hope that the evidence which I have adduced will help those who doubt to believe that he is right at least in holding that Scheria is in Corcyra, and that is the important point. The rest may be left to Dörpfeld when, if ever, he resumes his excavations in Corfu after the present cataclysm has run its baleful course.

SCHERIA—CORCYRA II

CP XIV (1919)

As already stated, Mure was of the opinion that the poet was describing a people whom he knew. In Appendix E to the first volume of his *Hist. Gk. Lit.* he goes farther and suggests that the Phaeacians were a colony of *Φοίνικες*, who were settled in Corcyra and who became 'the butt of Homer's playful satire.' Both *Φαίηκες* and *Φοίνικες* are devoted to navigation and characterized by an epithet denoting magnificence or ostentation; both are *ναυσίκλυτοι* and *ἀγαυοί*. The *Φοίνικες* are, 'in the true spirit of Homeric humour'—and we know how fond Homer is of paronomasia in a variety of forms—disguised as *Φαίηκες*.[1] If the lively ways of the Homeric Phaeacians, are the opposite of the 'gravity, or even gloom' of the Phoenicians, it is suggested that, in the case of a Phoenician community that happened to be of a frivolous disposition, the contrast between such habits and the usual characteristics of the race might even add zest to the satire.

I venture to think, after prolonged examination of the literature of Scheria, that Mure's view is substantially correct and that in fact it only needs to be brought up to date. As we now know much more about the early Mediterranean than was known in 1850, let us accept the guidance of the archaeologists and see if their discoveries assist the solution of our present problem. The study of the environment in or of which an old poet has written being admittedly a good guide to the proper understanding of his poetry, let

[1]Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 24, note, mentions that Mahaffy thought Scheria might be a colony of Phocaeans who were thus taken off, but I cannot find Mahaffy's reference to the point.

us consider what has lately been revealed to us as to conditions in Greece and its surroundings in the age that is reflected in the Homeric epics.

First we have a long period of Minoan civilization in Crete with its headquarters at Knossos. Then comes a transfer of power to the mainland of Greece and the Mycenaean age begins. This continues during and ends with the period *ca.* 1350–1100 B.C., at or toward the close of which Knossos is destroyed. Homer—and in using the name I am following the archaeologists and disregarding the *inops turba* of the dissectors of the poems—flourished somewhat later. Our chief authority, Sir Arthur Evans, tells us in *JHS* xxxii 277 ff., one of the most valuable papers on the succession of the Minoan and Mycenaean ages and the age of Homer, that Homer is 'at most sub-Mycenaean.' His floruit is on the borders of the geometrical period, and he describes the 'chalco-sideric' age, anterior to his own, in which, though bronze was still in general use, iron was beginning to be turned to account. Already in the Second Late Minoan period there had been (*Scripta Minoa*, p. 56) 'Minoan predominance, not to use a stronger expression, extending north of the gulf of Corinth,' which in the chalco-sideric age had become 'Mycenaean domination on the mainland of Greece,' with its chief centre, or at least one chief centre, of power in the Peloponnesus. This is the political condition presupposed by the Homeric poems. Dr. Leaf and Professor Bury (*QR* [July, 1916], p. 14) would 'sweep away the Catalogue.' To that one must object most strenuously. With or without it, however, we have in Homer, to use Professor Bury's words, 'a consistent political map for 1200 B.C.'

In the period preceding the Mycenaean, the Minoan empire, with its centre at Knossos, had been extended far both east and west of the Mediterranean. For its influence in the West see *Scrip. Min.* (pp. 61 and 95 f.), Peet in *BSA* xiii 405 ff., and Myres in *Proceedings of the Classical Association* ([1911], pp. 50 ff.) and in *YW* ([1906], p. 27), referring to *JHS* xxiv 125. We read that there were settlements in Sicily, Italy, Sardinia, and Spain, and that there is abundant evidence of intercourse, in the late Minoan age, between the Aegean and Italy,[1] and between the Aegean and the head of

[1] It goes back even to the fourth millennium B.C. (Evans in *BSA* viii 123).

the Adriatic, as shown by the remains of a Mycenaean colony at Torcello near Venice. For the early obsidian trade see the Hellenic Society's Phylakopi volume, 233. It need not surprise us if we hear of a Minoan settlement in Corcyra. I have already argued that the island could not have been overlooked. It would be 'useful for the coasting voyage to Sicily.' See Burrows (p. 13, and p. 208, n. 6) on the possibility of 'genuine Minoan traditions in the island.' Corcyra would in fact be the Minoan traders' next landing-place after leaving Ithaka, which was the final port of call in Greece, on the voyage to the west, like Sicily and Sardinia farther on (Peet, *ut supra*, p. 420). Cf. Thompson on Leukas in *LAA* iv, 133. A Minoan settlement would be inevitable in an island so attractive and so incomparably situated as Corcyra.

'The Homeric poems,' we read in *Scrip. Min.* 61, 'themselves afford a convincing proof that the traditions of the earlier Minoan and Mycenaean culture lived on in that of the Viking race of Greece,' and Professor Burrows (p. 209) tells us that the story of the poems presupposes the civilization of Late Minoan III, a period in which, as we have seen, intercourse with the West was active. It is the sea lore of that age that is preserved in the *Odyssey* (Myres, *Geogr. Aspect*, p. 52, and Ramsay, *CR* xviii 167). But we have in the epic only a tradition; there is no direct account of the Minoan empire, its connections, or its commerce. But we do have a description of its representatives and their proceedings in the Mediterranean. Homer's Φοίνικες are not Phoenicians; they are the Minoans. The distinction in Homer between Φοίνικες and Σιδόνιοι has not always been recognized, but it was seen by Gladstone (*Juv. Mundi*, p. 143, and *Synchronism*, p. 162, and cf. his remark quoted in *Scrup. Min.*, p. 94, note), by Hayman (App. D.), and by Seymour (*Life* 52, note), who gives the Homeric references and the Homeric character, not a very high one, of these trafficking Φοίνικες or 'red men.' They have in these days come into their own as the Minoans of the archaeologists. See *Scrip. Min.* (pp. 56, 80); Fick (*Hattid.*, p. 4), referring to his *Ortsn.* (pp. 123 ff.), Burrows (p. 142), Frost (*JHS* xxxiii 196, note), Aly (*loc. cit.*), Wace on Poulsen, *YW* 1913, p. 50), and on the subject generally, Hall (*BSA* viii on 'Keftiu

and the Peoples of the Sea'). There is truth in the dictum of Assmann (*Das Floss der Odyssee*, p. 19), *ohne die Phoiniker hätten wir vielen von der Odyssee nicht, wahrscheinlich überhaupt keine Odyssee*, if for Phoinikes we now read Minoans.

Are there then any indications of a settlement of Φοίνικες, or Minoans, in Corcyra? Here I am glad to be able to accept, from what I may term the Cretan theory of Phaeacia adopted by Drerup and others, all the internal marks of Minoanism which they detect in Scheria, but I use them as showing, not that Scheria is Atlantis or a dim memory of Crete in the days of its Minoan glory, but that there was a settlement in Corcyra described to us by Homer under the name of Scheria. The points in question are stated by Drerup and Burrows, and by Krause (*Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus*, *Hermes*, l 96 ff.). The Phaeacians, like the Minoans, were fond of music, song, and the dance (see *JHS* xxxii, 278; *BSA* ix 110; *Scrip. Min.*, pp. 191 f., and cf. Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century* [1889], p. 292). The high position and freedom of women is another trait common to the two peoples. When we look at a reproduction of the fresco at Tiryns representing two ladies—but does not someone contend they are men?—standing in a car at a boar hunt, we think of Nausikaa[1] driving her team to the river, ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἡνιόχευεν νόῳ δ' ἐπέβαλλεν ἱμάσθλην. Koch (*Zur Stellung der Frau bei Hom.* p. 9) says Areté is pre-Mycenaean, and Holsten (*Griech. Sittlichkeit in myken. Zeit*, p. 19 and note) notes Mycenaean features in the picture of Phaeacia. The association of Rhadamanthys with its people, mysterious as it must remain, will certainly be to some a Minoan bond. So for Ino, Odysseus' Saviour from the waste of waters. Her name is pre-Hellenic and 'leads to Crete' (Farnell in *JHS* xxxvi 43). Again, pork in the Phaeacian dietary is, as Gladstone observed, another eastern mark, and swine were largely kept in Crete (*Scrip. Min.*, p. 133). For manners and costume see Bérard (i 574 ff.); for the palace, with its θριγκὸς κυάνοιο—a substance 'indications' of which were found in the palace at Knossos, see *BSA* vi 10, Burrows (pp. 206, 209); and for the comfortable life, see Drerup, *Omero*, pp. 265 f. As regards place-

[1]Was the comparison of the maiden to Artemis suggested to the poet by a local cult of the Πότνια Θηρῶν? Figurines of the huntress goddess, apparently of an archaic character, have been found in Corcyra (*BSA* xiv 64).

names I have compared those in Fick's Cretan lists in *Hattid.* (pp. 8 ff.) with those for Corcyra given by Bursian and others, and have found that the names which are similar in both correspond generally to those mentioned by Paulatos, *ΠΑΤΡΙΣ* (p. 56 and note), and which he says are not Greek but Semitic.

Certainly there are points of community. But then there are, as the upholders of the Cretan theory themselves admit, some very decided differences. Professor Burrows (p. 208, note) remarks on a difficulty as to boxing, which does not, however, appeal to me, as I explain elsewhere. And there is no reference to that peculiarly Minoan sport, the *taurokathapsia* or bull-baiting in the arena. Such reminiscences of the heyday of the Minoan empire could hardly have been omitted. And then the bow; *οὐ γὰρ Φαιήκεσσι μέλει βιὸς οὐδὲ φαρέτρη*, ζ 270, in Nausikaa's mouth, be it observed, and not the *bavardage* of her father. What of the 'old Cretan tradition as famous bowmen' (*Scrip. Min.*, pp. 44 and 79; cf. *BSA* x 59 ff., and Assmann in *Philolog.* lxvii 167)? And again, while the Minoan towns were open and unprotected save by 'wooden walls,' Scheria was carefully fortified against attack. Now it would surely be strange that there should be these marked contrasts if Homer were giving us a picture of Minoan Crete from memories of the famous days of the island realm, and stranger still if he was, as Sir Arthur Evans and others tell us, using Minoan tales or epics in which, one may be sure, the national characteristics would all be preserved, prominent and unadulterated. But it is not strange if we regard the poet as describing a settlement of Minoans separated, perhaps long separated, from the parent stock and developing a local character of their own in a new island home. Different conditions produce different ways and manners. The Mycenaeans, for example, in the Peloponnesus, unlike their Minoan forbears at home, secured their capitals by massive walls. In Scheria, if of Minoan origin, we expect to find just such links with Cretan tradition as Macalister (*op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff. and 114 f.) finds among another race of Minoan emigrants, the Philistines in Palestine. See the quotation from Winckler on page 94. Immigrants adopt the civilization and culture of the lands they seize. It was in this way, possibly, that the Scherians came to adopt the

Achaean gods, just as those of Minoan Crete in the course of centuries took on Hellenic names and attributes.

Mycenaean remains have not, as has often been remarked, been found in Corcyra, but the island has not been thoroughly explored. Dörpfeld was conducting excavations just before the war. He is a man imbued, I might almost say above all others (see his 'Confession of Homeric Faith,' *W kl Ph* [1912], 1081 ff.) with the reality and accuracy of the geography and topography and most other things in the poems, and he was convinced that he had found the site of Alkinoos' stronghold on the small peninsula of Kephali in the north-west of Corfu. See *Athen. Mitt.* xxxix, 175 f., *JHS* xxxiii 367 f., the *Westminster Gazette* of February 9th, 1914, and the *CW* ([1915], pp. 60 f.). He found there a prehistoric settlement with a small quantity of Mycenaean sherds, but that is the only Mycenaean sign. Bérard has found nothing on his site, but he is not an excavator. There were signs of only modern settlement, no ancient ruins, but it is a steep and rocky eminence that he has fixed on, and ancient remains may have disappeared from it entirely, as, I believe, in other similar cases. It may be added here that Bérard identifies Hypereia, the old home of the emigrants to Scheria, with Cumae, and Cumae is (*Scrip. Min.*, p. 95) the point on the Tyrrhene coast up to which Mycenaean remains have been found. The date of its foundation, even as a Greek settlement, was carried by tradition as far back as 1050 B.C. On this see Bérard (ii 118). Minoan discoveries since he wrote might induce him now to put the Phaeacian occupation of that place beyond the date mentioned. But his remark à propos of the reason for the migration of the Phaeacians is interesting —*l'histoire postérieure de Kume va nous montrer vingt exemples de pareilles hostilités.*

One discovery does point to Minoan occupation. In a paper already referred to (*JHS* xxxii) Sir Arthur Evans describes (p. 286) the pedimental sculptures of 'an early temple' excavated by Dörpfeld at Palaeopolis in Corfu and finds that the essential features are those of the Mycenaean tympanum. On either side of the central divinity are 'the animal guardians, in this case apparently pards, heraldically posed,' in short 'the traditional Minoan group.' Now I do not think that it has occurred to anyone to suggest that the κύνες

of gold and silver which (η 88 ff.) adorned the entrance to Alkinoos' palace, have any such significance. But if Professor Perrin is right in supposing in his note (*ad loc.*) that the animals may have been sphinxes or griffins, which were sometimes 'attached to the column *like watchdogs* by a thong or chain' (Evans, in *JHS* xxi 159)[1] we surely have again the essentials of the traditional Minoan grouping. It is not expressly stated by Homer that the κύνες were in a pediment, but the mention of the ὑπερθύριον or lintel in the line immediately preceding may perhaps be taken as indicating that such was the poet's meaning. See on this subject Dussaud, *Civilisns. Préhelléniques*[2] (p. 459), where once again we should perhaps read Minoans for Phoenicians. κύων, it should be added, was used of a great variety of supernatural creations, including the Sphinx herself (Roscher, *s.v.* 'Kyon'). Even Homer does not confine the word to dogs; in μ 96 it is a sea monster of some minor kind. And lastly, as tending to confirm the Minoan connection, I refer to the tale in Roscher (*s.v.* 'Pandareos') of the similar κύων χρυσοῦς Ἡφαιστότευκτος and even ἔμψυχος that guarded the shrine of Zeus in Crete. In *BSA* viii, 138, note, the animal is called 'the dog of Minos.'[2]

For the golden statues of youths ἐυδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν (η 100), which held lighted torches inside the palace, I can find no parallel from Minoan Crete. βωμοί or pedestals for lamps have been found, but not, so far as I know, surmounted by λαμπαδηφόροι. The nearest approach to these seems to be the Petsofa figurines, with a saucer lamp on the head, mentioned in *BSA* ix 372.

And then there are the various references in antiquity to the occupation of Corcyra by Colchians. Dodwell, in his *Tour through Greece* (i 36), reports a tradition that as early as 1349 B.C., that is, in the Mycenaean period, there was an immigration of Colchians, but he does not give his authority, and I can obtain no confirmation. Another, in Apollonius Rhodius, is to the effect that Alkinoos allowed the Colchians who pursued the Argonauts to settle in Corcyra, where they stayed till the time of the Bacchiadae of Corinth, when the

[1] Cf. *BSA* vi 40 for a doorway with 'griffins facing it on either side.'

[2] It may be worth noting that in another Cretan settlement, Gezer of the Philistines, 'architectural features of the Cretan type' have been found (*Scrip. Min.*, p. 78).

Corinthians, according to Strabo (vi 269), turned them out. Cf. Wilamowitz (*HU* 170 ff.) and Nitzsch (*Anmkgn.* ii 74). The most likely settlers in prehistoric times would be the Minoans, and if we cannot assume that the Minoans have been converted into Colchians through the story of the Argonauts, they at least appear to have been of the same kin. Rawlinson (on Herodotus, i 2) suggested an ethnical relation between the Colchians and the Phoenicians, or, as he might now say, the Minoans. Herodotus regarded the Colchians as Egyptians, a remnant of the army of Sesostris, but his identifying marks might apply to Minoans. The latter were connected with the Anatolian stock (*Scrip. Min.*, p. 61, and *JHS* xxxii 279). Trade connection between Crete, Egypt, and Armenia, which bordered on Colchis, is proved by the archaeology of the spiral form of ornamentation. Mackenzie (*Myths of Crete*, pp. 28 f., also p. 325) says that the Minoans penetrated the Dardanelles and tapped the trade which came from the East to the shores of the Black Sea. Colchis may have been a settlement of theirs. Those who are now coming to believe that the rape of Helen was not wholly mythical may perhaps go further and believe that the carrying off of Medea from Colchis was a reprisal for the abduction of Io by *Φοίνικες*, or Minoans, and that Corcyra became involved in this feud between East and West. On the 'debtor and creditor account' of such abductions drawn up in later story, see Grote, *History* ([ed. 1888], i 224, note), referring to the opening of Herodotus' history. And finally there is the portrait figured by Sir Arthur Evans in a paper in the *JHS*, the reference to which I have lost, which is perhaps 'the actual likeness of a Minoan dynast,' and is pronounced to be curiously Armenoid in its general traits. Now the Colchians are said to have been of Armenoid race, and in Minoans and Egyptians, according to Mackenzie (pp. 150 and 197), there was an Armenoid strain. But with this meagre contribution I must leave the matter, if it be worth pursuing, to wiser heads than mine in the hope that further research will tend to identify these Colchians, in their old home on the Euxine and in Corcyra, with the Minoans.

The Liburnians also had an ancient connection with Corcyra which is perhaps worth noting. Bursian (*op. cit.* ii 359, note) quoted by Fick (*Hattid.* 30) tells us that they

were the oldest inhabitants of Corcyra. They also (Smith's *Dict. Geog.*, *s.v.*) occupied the northern part of Illyricum, having migrated there from Italy, and Niebuhr considered them 'Pelasgians.' Cf. Helbig in *Hermes* xi 257 ff., who repeats the story that Idomeneus, driven from Crete after the Trojan War, came to Illyricum and went on thence with the Illyrians to Italy. Much the same was told of Diomede. Meriones was said to have settled in Sicily. Bursian (i 17 f.) gives the tradition about the arrival of Helenus with a Trojan band in Epirus. Cf. Bethe, *Rhein. Mus.* lxv 210, *nach Sizilien wie nach Korkyra Splitter des Keftiuvolkes von Kreta aus verschlagen sind*, and for an interpretation of the meaning of movements of this kind see Casson, 'The Dispersal Legend,' in *CR* xxvii 156*a*. They may reflect actual migrations from Crete to Italy and a return movement thence to the neighbourhood of Corcyra, just of the nature of the one which Bérard and others see in the Odyssean transfer of the Phaeacians from Hypereia to Scheria (cf. Burrows, p. 208, n. 6). Fick and Kretschmer have noted many linguistic indications of the early connection between the two shores of the Adriatic. Ἰστώνη, a mountain in Corcyra, and Histonium of the Frentani are only one of many such (Fick, *Ortsn.*, p. 142, and *Hattid.*, p. 31, quoting Helbig, *ut supra*).

But whether future investigations of the relation of the Colchians and Liburnians to Corcyra and the mainland near it helps our present view or not really matters little, for we have one fact which is as nearly decisive as anything can be in regard to so remote a matter. There was a Minoa in Corcyra (see Burrows, p. 13 and the reference there). That is taken as a certain sign of Minoan occupation, and it makes it more than mere hypothesis that it is a Minoan settlement which Homer, with, if we please, added touches of fancy (Eustathius' πλάσματα πιθανά) and certainly with humour playing over the whole, has described for us in an imperishable lay. Bergk (*Hist. Gk. Lit.*, p. 787) saw in it *Dichtung und Wahrheit verschmolzt*. The poet followed the *Volksglaube* in its mingling of fiction with truth. Corcyra, on the borderland between Greece and the West, was a likely locality to tempt to such treatment, 'mixed treatment,' as Gladstone calls it (*Juv. Mund.*, pp. 476 f.). The regions beyond were in a sense the haunts of mystery, and the juris-

diction of the god Poseidon,[1] from whom pre-Achaean families or peoples like the Phaeacians and the Cyclopes traced their descent, and the theme of the life and ways there must, as the *Odyssey* shows, have been an attractive one to the Achaeans of the Greek mainland.

It is likely enough, when one considers how it has struck some authorities, that Homer is describing the people and the locality from personal observation, and certainly it is quite possible that the poet himself had visited Corcyra. That he was a traveller no one can doubt who reads his works, notes how much of the earth he has seen with his own eyes, and recalls his remarkable simile in *O* 80 ff.: *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀίξῃ νόος ἀνέρος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ πολλὴν γαῖαν ἐληλυθὼς φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι νοήσῃ, 'ἔνθ' εἴην, ἢ ἔνθα,' μενοινήῃσί τε πολλά.* And if as tradition asserts and as seems certain on his own description of the island, he actually visited Ithaka, it is as likely as not that he went on to Corcyra. There was, in the view of W. H. Jones in *CR* xxiv 208, no prejudice against the foreigner to stay Homer from such an excursion. Gandar, in his interesting study, *Homère et la Grèce contemporaine*, is quite ready to believe that he made the trip.

On the island he finds a Minoan community and the materials for his beautiful Nausikaan idyl and his character sketch of the people and their king. Their vanity and the mild vapouring and postprandial weakness of their ruler amuse him, and he immortalizes them by incorporating them in the story of Odysseus. There may even have been—who knows?—another motive. We have only to read the Phaeacian books and the *Apologoi* to appreciate the importance attached to the function of *πομπή*. Other peoples and personages practise it as occasion requires, but the Phaeacians are *πομπῆες par excellence*, *πομποὶ ἀπήμονες ἁπάντων*. They help *all* on their way; it is their standing occupation (cf. *θ* 31 ff. and Bérard, i 559 ff.). They are intermediaries between the Achaean world and the wild west. Bérard compares the Neleids in the south. The men of Corcyra had probably something like a monopoly of the traffic across the Otranto channel, often, as Bérard tells us, a perilous bit of navigation. They no doubt waxed fat on the business, as

[1] A Minoan god in origin, according to Miss Harrison. See the *Annual Report of the Hellenic Society* for 1913-14, p. 5.

Mycenae and Troy did, and Homer, as firm a believer in the doctrine of the φθόνος θεῶν as Herodotus was later, sees in this material for the further embellishment of his picture. ψεύδεσι σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι. The Phaeacians are obviously committing, as Bérard says, *deux sacrilèges*. The speed of their ships is unearthly and provocative, and they are outraging the god—if Miss Harrison is right, their own Minoan god—who presided over that waste of sea by robbing it of its terrors and cheating him of his legitimate victims. And so we owe to the poet's imagination thus kindled the incidents of the prophecy of Nausithoos, the petrifaction of the ship, and the origin of the mountain that cut off Scheria from the interior.

My readers need not remind me that this is speculation and that nothing of the sort is proved or susceptible of proof. I know it, but I can without a blush go further. It is even possible that the poet is giving poetical embodiment and colour to an experience of his own. If at Scheria he suffered from a hitch in the arrangements he desired for further exploration or for getting back to Achaean lands, there would be a motive for the employment of his gentle satire. At any rate I find it as easy to believe as that he was converting wild sprites of the ocean, or Valkyries, or ferrymen of the dead, or denizens of the infernal regions into simple, jovial, hard-working seamen. Rather, Phaeacia is real and the poet is in earnest about the island community. If Professor Bury, as many will allow, has reason when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that 'Mr. Leaf is assuredly right in asserting the reality of Agamemnon and Menelaus,' why should we hesitate about Alkinoos? It is now many years since Sir William Ramsay observed that the learned world was coming round to Gladstone's faith in the reality of the life in the Homeric poems, and every year since has seen the truth of the observation more and more confirmed. And Gladstone agreed with Mure as to Phaeacia. I close with the hope that I have shown some reason for believing that they were right and that Alkinoos and his folk are οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν.

ATLANTIS AND SCHERIA

CJ XXIII (1928)

THE stock of the Lost Continent, Atlantis, has had a good market lately. It used to be the fashion merely to jeer at the notion of its existence. That can hardly continue now that Mr. Lewis Spence has examined the evidence at length in *The Problem of Atlantis*, *Atlantis in America*, and *The History of Atlantis* (London, 1924-5-6), and comes to the conclusion that there once was such a continent out in the Atlantic. It is now the turn of the sceptics. Again, in France there is a *Société d'Études Atlantéennes;* I have seen a programme of its recent meetings, for discussion of such subjects as *L'Atlantide et le traditions celtiques* and *basques*. In German geographical literature the quest is frequently mentioned. No. lxxiii (1927) of *Petermann's Mitteilungen* would appear to be what might be called a special 'Atlantis number.'

But what's Atlantis to Homer? Only this, that among the many strange places where Atlantis has been found—Spitzbergen, Nigeria, the Caucasus, Ceylon, and others—is the Scheria of the *Odyssey*. This last identification, it may be recalled, goes back to Donnelly. On p. 298 of his *Atlantis: the Antediluvian World* (1852) he says, 'the description of the Phaeacian walls, harbours, ships, etc., seems like a recollection of Atlantis,' More recently the late Mr. Frost argued in *JHS* xxxiii 189 ff. that Plato's Atlantis was really Minoan Crete, and that the Odyssean account of Scheria is a reflection of Crete in the days of its greatness. In this he was followed by Leaf in *H and H* 183 f. These suggestions are negatived by Mr. Spence. See also *CQ* xiii 8 f.

Richard Hennig, in his *Von rätselhaften Ländern* (Munich, 1925), goes further and in the first two essays in the book—'Atlantis und Tartessos' and 'Das Phäakenland Scheria' proclaims that Atlantis is Tartessos, and Tartessos Scheria. He relies on Schulten's *Tartessos* (Hamburg, 1922). Schulten does not share the Scheria view, but he considers Tartessos the oldest *Kulturstadt* in Europe, and thinks it may have been a colony from the east, perhaps from Minoan Crete, and that is far from improbable. On the antiquity of naviga-

tion to the far west Mr. Cary says in *JHS* xliv 168, quoting authorities—Schulten among them—'the sea passage to the tin lands, as an abundance of evidence proves, was already made in pre-historic times.'

In *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1926, and in the *Rhein. Mus.* for the same year, Hennig insists that Corfu cannot be Scheria. He also expresses the opinion that without *ἐξωκεανισμός*—the word is Strabo's, and means going (like Matthew Arnold's grave Tyrian trader) 'outside the western straits To where the Atlantic raves'—there can be no proper understanding of the Wanderings of Odysseus.

But Hennig's argumentation is far from convincing. The modern literature of the subject other than German is but little regarded, in the essay on Scheria in his book not at all. A discussion of the whereabouts of Scheria which omits reference to its equation to Corfu in Bérard's great work cannot be considered complete. There is much to be said for Bérard's conclusion. Reference may be made to two papers in *CQ* xiii 8 ff., and two in *CP* xiii 321 ff. and xiv 97 ff. In these, it may be added, the old fairyland view of Scheria was examined and rejected. But it dies hard. It is constantly accepted by writers on the Homeric geography and dissectors of the *Odyssey*, who neglect all that has been said against it since Welcker propounded it in a well-known paper in the first number of the *Rhein. Mus.* It is comforting to find that the German geographers named above are satisfied as to the reality of Scheria.

Edwin Björkman, in *The Search for Atlantis* (New York, 1927), described as 'excursions by a layman among old legends and new discoveries,' follows Schulten and Hennig. It is a readable but slender treatise and does not show great acquaintance with the literature of Scheria. For the identification of Scheria with Tartessos much is made of the tide at the latter. When the river god stays his current to allow Odysseus to land, this must refer to a change of tide from ebb. There is no tide at Corfu, there is at Tartessos, so Corfu cannot and Tartessos must be Scheria. But the Homeric gods *πάντα δύνανται*, and the tidal inference is not inevitable.

In a somewhat ambitious paper in the *Zeitschr. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1926, Albert Herrmann, after one more rearrangement of the corpus of the *Odyssey*, insists on the

importance of Homer for the geography of Greece. All that concerns us here is that Scheria is now located in Tunisia.— Since this was written I see from the *Phil. Wocht.* for 1928, 254, that Scheria has been found in Socotra in the Arabian Sea!

Meantime yet another turn has been given to the discussion by Hennig in the *Geogr. Zeitschr.* xxiii (reported in *Ph. W* 1927, 564). Corfu cannot be Scheria, because Corfu is the Ithaka of the Odyssey! The home of Odysseus, as πολυπλάνητος as its king, has been found in S. Maura, in Cephalonia, in the Aegadean Islands, and now in Corfu. *Quousque tandem!* There are still some islands in the Aegean that can be pressed into service.

Scheria is Corfu, as ancient tradition knew. It was the last port of call on the voyagings of the Minoans to the far west, and probably a Minoan settlement. Its remoteness, as described in the *Odyssey*, means only this, that it was outside the Achaean world. For Achaeans, Ithaka was the last port of call within their realm in similar voyagings. The accuracy of the Homeric geography is more and more assured as the years pass. For that we have in large measure to thank the discussion that has been the outcome of Dörpfeld's persistence in his Leukas-Ithaka heresy.

SECTION V

THE LANGUAGE AND VERSE

THE ONENESS OF THE HOMERIC LANGUAGE

CP X (1915)

SOME Homeric critics of the nineteenth century had a number of fixed beliefs which they regarded as inexpugnable. One of these was that the language of Homer could be used to show that certain passages, books, and strata in the epics were later than others. How far was that belief justified? There is no question here of the origin and nature of that language, or of its relation to any Greek dialect or group of dialects. The point is only this: taking the language of the poems as we have it, have such differences in respect of it been proved to exist between different parts of the poems as to establish difference of age?

The boldest of these scholars worked with great minuteness and with full confidence that the linguistic and metrical criteria which they had devised enabled them to cut up the poems into what von Christ described as *minutulas particulas* of varying age. One recalls the enterprises of Hoffmann, Giseke, Geppert, and Kluge. But these results were not acceptable, even to scholars of those wild days, and are never mentioned now. The treatises are, for all their effect on the minds of Homerists, as though they had never been written.

But the failures of individuals did not lead to the abandonment of the method. The mania for dissection and the hunt for infallible tests have continued even into the present century. Carl Robert's endeavour, by arms and Ionisms, is perhaps the most famous of all, and has proved as futile as any. The author's extraordinary acuteness could not blind his critics to defects of procedure, and friends and foes alike

fell upon the scheme and condemned it. The arbitrary manipulation of armature epithets, the violence used to parts of the poems to compel them to come into the design, and the abuse of Ionisms were fatal faults. The linguistic element in the proof was criticized with special severity. Bréal and others asked in vain for evidence that iteratives, *ἄν*, and similar usages were purely Ionic. Even individual words, as *καρτερός* and *ἀγινέω*, were banned under this description. Witte, in the most recent condemnation of the *Studien*, expresses the opinion that the book proved this much, that pieces of the poetry containing descriptions of armour that was purely Mycenaean are *not* now to be extricated from the mass.[1]

More recently Della Seta[2] has made a distribution by means of certain appellatives, *Ἀχαιοί*, *Ἀργεῖοι*, *Δαναοί*, etc. I think there has hardly been a favourable word on the resultant grouping, except one from Professor Murray, who surely cannot have noticed that *K* and *Ω* are found to belong to an ancient stratum. Zuretti[3] showed that the proof was based on a misappreciation of the metrical way of Homer. Pasquali also objected,[4] and cruelly pointed out that in Witte's distribution, in his *Singular u. Plural*, which appeared about the same time, and for which see below, *Ω* had been classed as a late book.

Still more recently Mr. Drewitt has found in a new theory of the Augment a means of testing the age of various passages. The theory is developed in two papers in *CQ* vi 44 ff., and 104 ff., and much is made of poor materials; but the liberties taken with the Homeric corpus, the elasticity of the method, and the disregard of considerations which are vital are such as to bar its acceptance absolutely (*CP* vii 396 ff.). His further note in *CP* viii 349 ff. is replied to, *ibid.* ix 189 ff., and his last state is worse than his first. The more his statistics are examined the worse they appear.

Bechtel submits yet another criterion in *Vocalcontraction*. His work is based on the *disjecti membra poetae* as ascertained by Robert for the *Iliad* and by Wilamowitz for the *Odyssey*, and that is fatal to Bechtel's scheme for all those who do not

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, *Homeros*, 1239.
[2] In *Rendic. d. R. Accad. d. Linc.*, 1907.
[3] *Riv. di Filol*, 1908, 232; cf. Witte in *Glotta*, iv 240.
[4] *Atene e Roma*, 1907, 369.

accept these delimitations. Mülder, now the noblest Unitarian of them all, has observed that probably Wilamowitz himself would hardly hold his *Untersuchungen*, published nearly thirty years ago, to be 'canonical' now. Bechtel's initial comparison of *A*, carefully expurgated, as an ancient book with *Ω* as part of the 'youngest stratum' must still further reduce the number of his adherents. Cauer at once reminded him of the schism in dissecting circles which was caused by the neo-Homerists who propounded a new heresy (see below) about *A*.

Karl Witte has found the touchstone in the 'poetic plural.' See his *Singular u. Plural*, supplemented by arguments from statistics of στήθεα and πήματα in *Glotta* i 132 ff. He proceeds from the *Voraussetzung* that in the beginning of speech every noun had its natural number, some the singular, some the plural, and some apparently the dual. But does not that require proof? Some have believed that number and other inflections were originally separate words. Witte's θύραι and πύλαι can hardly be considered original plurals unless doors came into use universally in more than one piece. And there are two other hypothetical propositions. But it is enough to suggest that the one fundamental principle requires to be established. As regards στήθεα and πήματα, the proof is not satisfying. The 'poetic plural' of στῆθος being almost confined to the dative, the reason for this is discovered to be its metrical superiority, in the forms στήθεσσι and στήθεσι, to the dative singular; and the, at first sight certainly, astounding statement is made that 'forms like στήθει were regarded as spondees.' Witte points to such cases as ἔγχει ὀρεξάσθω, but no one can say that that did not originally stand ἔγχε' ὀρεξάσθω, as Van Leeuwen in fact prints it; and to cases in which forms like στήθει were indubitably spondees, but these are few. Taking all the neuters in -ος mentioned by Witte in his note on στήθει, I find that out of 108 occurrences of the dative singular in Homer, while 63 are doubtful, only 2 are certainly spondees. These figures do not show that there was any *Hindernis* to the use of the dactylic dative singular in the hexameter.

Next, *Analogiebildung* is appealed to; στήθεσσι is formed on the analogy of φρεσί. But who shall say which is the earlier among the two sets of stock phrases set out by Witte

in which the words are used? It is said that φρένες was originally *plurale tantum*, but that will be granted by those alone who believe that primitive man's knowledge of human anatomy was as good as the modern surgeon's. The larger number of the occurrences of the plural φρένες is also brought into evidence, but the same may be said, though in a less degree, of στῆθος. We also find an argument based on φρένα and φρένας, while φρενί and φρεσί, which are of the same metrical value, are left out of consideration. And finally, for πῆμα, ἄλγος is claimed as the model; πήματα πάσχει follows ἄλγεα πάσχει. But why not vice versa? Witte answers that, in twelve out of fourteen occurrences of πήματα, the word follows the Bucolic Diaerises, and, if one considers 'the importance which the fifth foot had for new formations in Latin,' one will, he thinks, hardly doubt that the plural πήματα has been formed on metrical considerations! Many will think that some better evidence is necessary on this as on other points discussed, and, until it is forthcoming, we must hesitate to accept his test and its results.

The μέγα ἔργον is still ἄρεκτον. The operators have been told so by those of their own household, and even that they never can succeed in a general dismemberment. But the test was too good to be abandoned lightly. As with the Repetitions, it was easy of application, materials were abundant, and results of a kind were considerable. And so the process continued till a very general belief arose that certain books had been proved to be products of an inferior age, posterior to the 'bloom' of epic poetry, and this belief is one of the main props of various hypotheses as to the rise of the Greek epic. Wolf had reversed the process, but von Humboldt told him at once that he had begun at the wrong end. 'You must begin with the language,' he wrote, but Wolf never made the venture. *In universum*, he had admitted, *idem sonus*, *idem habitus sententiarum*, *orationis*, *numerorum*, but this he said was deceptive; books separated by one or two centuries *simillima facie fallunt*. But he never gave a detailed proof. In the same way Geddes never published his promised work on 'the department of *linguistica*,' which was to furnish 'confirmatory evidence' in support of his own theory. It is dangerous to make theories first and then to constrain the language to fit them. Cauer remarks that the *Zerlegungen*

effected through the language cannot be made to correspond to those, and they are many, that have been made on other considerations.

But let us consider specific results. First, it became commonplace that the language of the *Odyssey* belonged to a later age than that of the *Iliad*, and this chiefly on the ground that it showed signs of higher development. But it was a belief that grew in the minds of those who willed it so, and cannot be said to have been based on a formal demonstration. Early efforts, in disregard of L. Friedländer, were inadequate. The matter coming to be *chose jugée*, it was only necessary to quote an expression or two. Bernhardy could bring himself to note that ὀμφαλόεις and φόβος are frequent in the *Iliad*, but occur only once each in the *Odyssey*; Bergk, that ἐξῆς was the property of the *Odyssey*, and Geddes, that διαπρύσιον was peculiar to the *Achilleïd*, without inquiring if there were any special reason therefor; Wilkins, that one noun in -ις was exceptional in regard to its accusative and one adjective in regard to its comparative. The very paucity of such 'peculiarities' confirmed the judgment of von Christ, who certainly was not averse to disruption and who surely spoke from experience, that 'the differences were small.' Spitzner, fresh from his great investigation, expressed himself to the same effect. There are few of the differences which have been noted that have not proved to be susceptible of explanation. A little deliberation would have saved many mistakes. The idea that *abstracta* were more numerous in the *Odyssey*, and that this proved its language to be more advanced, was as old as Geppert, and was constantly repeated, as by Bernhardy, Burnouf, Croiset, and Cauer. Professor Scott has shown[1] that there is no difference in this respect between the two poems. It only required a count, as once at the English court it only required the weighing of the pail of water with the fish in it. The fewness of the duals of historical tenses in the *Odyssey* was also used in evidence, but the reason is clear without reference to any linguistic theory;[2] the influence of subject on language was not sufficiently regarded.[3] Dr. Monro, in his full statement in his

[1] *CR* xxiv 8 ff., and see now pp. 341 ff. *post*.

[2] *CP* viii 285.

[3] Another important factor, hardly ever mentioned, is the much larger extent of 'speech' in the *Odyssey*.

edition of *Odyssey* ν-ω, recognizes it, but seems to forget it, as in his discussion of the occurrences of the epithets of certain deities. His case on the grammar has been examined and refuted by Miss Stawell,[1] and no counter demonstration has appeared, so far as I am aware.

It was Dr. Monro too who exhibited the grammatical indications of the affinity of *I K Ψ Ω* with the *Odyssey*. This idea also had, by much repetition and the occasional citation of a linguistic anomaly, been nearly worked up to the dignity of a Homeric certainty; these books were obviously 'Odyssean,' though it would have puzzled some who used the conclusion to say just how it had been proved or just what it meant. But when a great Homeric scholar collected the evidence from grammar, it looked as if what had been a mere idea was converted into fact. Yet the case has not survived examination. Miss Stawell showed that, as regards *Ψ* and *Ω*, the evidence was not properly appreciated and the instances often misinterpreted. The refutation was on Dr. Monro's own lines, the only difference being that the statistics were given with more completeness. A cardinal error had been that critics had not considered whether these books were not as much 'Iliadic' as 'Odyssean.' They are, all four of them.

The counter demonstration stands. Only one attempt, so far as I am aware, has been made to question its correctness. Professor Murray essayed to prove Miss Stawell wrong on one point—the uses of ἐν. His proof, which relied on all the stock expedients of German criticism of the inferior order, was examined in *CQ* iv 228 ff. There is nothing in it to induce one to revise one's opinion of Miss Stawell's refutation of the 'Odyssean' case.

It is a marvel that so little fight has been shown, for the 'Odyssean' label was most useful. You could always discredit a thing by mentioning that it was found in one of these late books. Mr. Drewitt seems to find a passage, a line, or a phrase 'Odyssean' when it is in his way. He (like Father Browne) adds *Θ* to the depressed class. Mr. Andrew Lang always wondered why it had not been proscribed, seeing that it had been shown that it was written 'as a prologue' to, and consequently could not be earlier than, *I*. But now it has

[1] *H and I*, App. C.

come into its own. But where is the proof? Why has it not been treated like *K*? *K*, ἡ παλαίπωρος Δολώνεια, was, to German criticism, unspeakably inferior. Yet its language, tested in every way possible, turns out to be just like that of the rest of the *Iliad*, and the lay has been accepted as genuine and ancient by Rothe, Allen, Lang, Drerup, Scott, and Van Leeuwen. These are good names on a Homeric bond. Cauer is content with the old cry; the language of *K den Spätling verrät*. But, if the 'Odyssean' theory is to be revived, there must be a formal demonstration, for there is now much against it.

The metrical case, as stated by Dr. Monro, proved to be as weak as the grammatical, and the four books were found on examination not to hang together in regard to the damnatory phenomena.[1] In fact the criteria often serve to split up the tainted group, instead of proving them to be a symmetrical mass. Take Lehrs' hephthemimeral (*Ar.*[3], 387 ff.). The statistics dissociate *Ω* from *I* and attach it to *A*.

The so-called 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey* may be cited as another case. The particulars of the linguistic proof, which Dr. Monro pronounced to be overwhelming, have been examined in *CP* viii 284 ff. Difficulties seem to yield to treatment. This is a case which is not due to modern prejudice, but which goes back to Aristarchus, if his opinion has been correctly transmitted. The post-Homeric ways and beliefs in *ω* have been held fatal. It has been shown, I think, in *CP* ix 160 ff., that even this ground of objection, though accepted almost universally, is unreal.

By comparison with these products of decadent days the language of the bulk of the *Iliad* was held to be pure and good, especially that of its core, the *Menis*. It was hard to enucleate a kernel that all could accept; many were the schemes, but none was chosen. But all were agreed that the first book, *A*, was part of it, when there suddenly arose some lewd critics, boasting themselves to be somebody, who declared that the *Lay of the Wrath*, the ancient *Kern* of the *Iliad*, was in fact the latest, or nearly the latest, of all the components of that poem, and invented to cement the other lays into a poem about Ilium. This 'blameless *Menis*,' as it had lovingly been called, had always been the unsurpassable

[1] *L of D*, Chap. xiii.

product of the best epic days, and there were those who could speak of its absolute *Unteilbarkeit*. It was a standard for reference; its diction, when pruned of what was modern and accidental (and inconvenient to your pet theory), was a perfect model; its theology was sound and pristine, and its culture generally unimpeachable; it was the repository of every Homeric glory. Now it was said that it was *not*, and, if it was not, then what of the criticism, prolonged, laboured and multiplex, by which it had been raised to that high eminence? The shock was as severe as it was unexpected. Men had as little thought to hear of Tiber turning and flowing up to his sources as of a breath against the hoary, solitary majesty of the *Wrath*. That much of the old linguistic case against other parts of the poems would need to be reconsidered, if this view were upheld, needs hardly to be said. But of course all will not accept the degradation of *A*. Yet one thing is certain. This ancient of books, like those that were in popular estimation 'Odyssean,' has itself much affinity with the *Odyssey*. That has been proved in detail, and Mr. Drewitt has at length admitted that the book is 'purely Odyssean from beginning to end.' Had that been foreseen fifty years ago, it would have saved volumes of all but useless writing.

If we turn now to the individual tests, the case seems equally bad. The criteria do not act. The base metal of the great *emblemata* is affected as little by these solvents as the pure gold of the *Wrath* itself. Take *F*, which serves, as Bréal says, *d'expédient en toute occasion*, and try *K* and the 'Continuation' by it. For the former it was deemed sufficient, by the few who applied the digamma, to point to one or two neglects. If that be sufficient, what part of the epic is safe? It was much the same with the 'Continuation'; *F* was hardly seriously used as a test of its genuineness. And wisely, for a comparison of the 'Continuation' and *A* in regard to observances and neglects of *F*, confined for greater assurance to the certainly digammated roots common to both, shows that these two tracts of the epic are practically in the same case. But, if they are separated by centuries which were a *Verwitterungsepoche* for *F*, *must* not neglects swarm in the later lay by comparison with the earlier? The weakness has been felt, and has led one authority to say it is necessary, in

such comparisons, to exclude from consideration the passages which critics have shown to be interpolations, and another actually to disregard what he holds to be borrowings or imitations. That is to render discussion nugatory. One need not insist that the comparison must be on a text absolutely (as in a case in Thumb's well-known essay) *ohne Korrektur*. There are changes in the wording which no one denies have taken place, and the originals of which all are disposed to accept. But, when we are asked to agree to prune a book down to the condition in which Robert or Fick or Hennings or some other authority sees its virgin form, we are asked to open the door to interminable wrangling. *F* is in fact hopeless. Many high authorities, not merely Unitarians, but even stout believers in gradual growth, such as Friedländer and Jebb, have discouraged the attempts to apply it. And obvious difficulties in the way have been pointed out. For one thing, the experts are not agreed on the general digamma question. The extremes seem to be represented by what Mr. Agar calls 'the always-ready-when-wanted idea' and his own Bentleian belief that the poems can be thoroughly cleansed of all neglects. For another, they differ widely in their views in regard to individual words or roots. Compare some of the old lists, such as Heyne's or McIvor's, with the compact selection drawn up by Thumb. The attributions of *F* which are prompted by the interest of the moment are at times astonishing.

Articular uses were also much in favour for the purpose of impugning the genuineness of passages or even books. A real article developing from a demonstrative was supposed to synchronize with a developing epos. But even this postulated position is anything but a certainty. It has yet to be shown—and it will not, if some authorities are right, be easy to show—that the lays which are classed as earliest did not know the *versus sincerusque Articulus*. Attic uses are *fest* in *A*. Meillet cannot believe that any part of the poems shows no knowledge of an *élément si généralement repandu sur tout le domaine hellénique dès la date la plus ancienne*. The special treatises, by Stummer, Förstemann, and Koch, give little help. The first-named made elaborate calculations, which, even accepting his particular views as to late and early tracts, only prove a slight difference between the most ancient and the most

modern lays, though these are supposed to be separated by several centuries. But even allowing the developing article, we are puzzled by the results. A late lay, we are told, must show numerous instances of the Attic uses of this part of speech. Many such were pointed out in *K*. They should equally abound in the 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey*. But in the latter, which is longer than *K*, it is a question if there is a single stumble into what is held to be later practice. How is this freedom from the new influence to be explained? How is it possible for the 'Continuation' to be very late, and not to show degeneration in regard to *F* and ὁ ἡ τό?

Certain prepositional uses were alleged to be characteristic of the 'Odyssean' books. Miss Stawell showed that the statistics have been wrongly given, and it is easy to produce examples of the impugned uses from the other parts of the *Iliad*. Giseke essayed to divide up the *Iliad* by taking the prepositions as a criterion. Curtius was surely right in holding that the only satisfactory starting-point for such an inquiry would be the development of prepositions from adverbs. Metrical convenience too was not considered. Yet it often determined the choice between ἐν and μετά, ἀνά and κατά, etc., and sometimes caused an alteration in the case of the noun. There are few points of language on which the author or authors of the poems took more liberties than with the prepositions.

Another test was found in ἄν and κε, but it, like others, suffered for a time from the inability of the learned to make up their minds as to the origin and uses of these two particles. Some have affirmed—Dr. Monro is one—that their meaning and uses are not identical, but Fick considers that they are, and that ἄν was introduced by his Ionian translator or transliterator. The whole matter has been set at rest by Dr. Monro in his *HG* 393 and his *Odyssey*, 464, where it is held, by reference to Leo Meyer, that ἄν is proto-Hellenic. That ἄν is not a Homeric particle has been pronounced by Professor Platt 'a hypothesis not only baseless, but, as clearly shown by Monro, actually contrary to the evidence of the text.' But a further point is that purely Ionian intrusions should show an abundance of instances of ἄν. This is not the case with *K* or the 'Continuation.'

The form ἐς is a failure too. I think I have shown else-

where that, in respect of its use, the two poems are in exactly similar case, that in some 5,000 lines of 'late' portions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there are only thirteen occurrences of the objectionable form, and that even these can be purged away, if only the same licence is permitted in the way of emendation that Bechtel employs in his comparison of the occurrences of the preposition in *A* and *Ω* respectively. Readers of Robert's *Studien* know what ample use is made of ἐς, ἄν, and the iteratives to discredit individual passages. The evidence derived from these *indicia* is absolutely worthless. Yet the proofs of spuriousness based on these and the armature can be implicitly accepted in spite of all that has been written in condemnation of Robert's dissection of the *Iliad*. Professor Bolling, in a paper in *AJP* xxxiii 401 ff., for which —or for the opening section of which—all who are interested in the literature of the digamma must be grateful, accepts the Fick-Bechtel view of ἐς absolutely. One would think it had never been questioned. But in Smyth's *Ionic*, 601, we read that 'Fick's attempt to exclude the Ionic ἐς from the Homeric epos is a failure,' depending, for one thing, on the emendation of 'many passages in the (*se judice*) older books,' etc.; cf. the *Enchiridium*, 534. Professor Bolling also, in the detailed proof with which his paper closes, follows Robert's analysis and thinks that 'requires no justification.' No justification! One might rather ask what leading authority has ever accepted it. The principles on which it was made were universally condemned—and that not only by Unitarians—when it first appeared, and no attempt has ever been made to render it acceptable. Any individual is at liberty to approve of it *en bloc*; but a theory that is based on the resultant scheme of the *Iliad* will find as few adherents as can now be claimed by Geppert's fifty-column list of spurious books and passages.

Certain perfects in -κα have also been pressed into service. They were one of the counts in the indictment against *K*, and they have been used elsewhere. Professor Scott appears to have disposed of them in a paper on these perfects and the Article in *CP* vi 156 ff. The same scholar has (*ibid.* vii 293 ff.) shown the futility of the test by Patronymics, propounded by W. Meyer, and approved 'with slight reservation' by Cauer.

How far archaizing is to be found in the Homeric poems

is a question on which the varieties of view are innumerable. As regards language, late poets are said to have affected the antique, and their mistakes, called pseudo-archaisms, have been taken as indications of the late age of these wrongful intruders. But little has been made of them. The caution expressed by Monro and Jebb at an early stage had a sobering effect. An attempt was, however, made by Monro himself to strengthen the case against the *Doloneia* by specifying instances which 'might be' included in this category, but detailed examination has shown that in almost every case another explanation is possible. One hears little of pseudo-archaisms now.[1]

Other tests have similarly failed their patrons. The optatives do not work well. Here the subjective element leaves discussions sicklied over with a very decided cast of doubt. When investigating them some years ago I lighted on a case in which three Homeric men of mould[2] said of two optatives in one line, the first that both were potential, the second that both were concessive, and the third that one was potential and the other concessive. No test that gives such scope for diversity of appreciation can furnish tangible results. The datives in *-οις* and *-ῃς* have not had the attention given them that was claimed on Nauck's statistics. Mr. Drewitt seems to give up that useful genitive in *-οο*. The genitive plurals of the first declension will not square with the facts. There seems to be one certain case of the contracted form in the four 'Odyssean' books and that one is in a line in *K* which some of its defenders are willing to sacrifice. Mere peculiarities of vocabulary are out of fashion. *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* would hardly be noted now. If more regard had been paid to the scholiast's simple *ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ χρεία*, much time and labour might have been saved. The dangers of arguing from Seeck's elaborate lists were pointed out by Fraenkel. The specialities of 'Odyssean' diction have not survived examination by Miss Stawell and Professor Scott. Professor Murray (*RGE*[2] 190) approves, but thinks it strange that this should be hailed as a separatist defeat. It is probable that many will continue to regard it as such.

[1] I may refer to *L of D* chap. xi.
[2] Leaf, Monro, Hentze. See *L of D* 244.

So much for the individual tests. Now many of those who employ them are ready to admit, on the researches which have been made, that the language of Hesiod's poems and the Hymns shows that these were composed at a later age than the bulk of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Rzach sums up in Pauly-Wissowa, *Hesiodos*, 1173 ff. But many believe that parts of the Homeric poems are later than Hesiod and in some passages even imitate him. Here there is surely a good field for the application of linguistic tests. The method of Messrs. Sikes and Allen with the digamma should be enough by itself. But the field has never been worked, surely for the reason that it would produce nothing. If *K* be as late as Archilochus, the digamma-phenomena would show some similarity in the two cases. One knows, without collecting statistics, that there is nothing of the sort. One also knows that some 'novelties' which appear in Hesiod and the Hymns and became fixed in later Greek, as *κᾰλός*, *ἐμαυτόν*, etc., are not to be found in any 'late' part of Homer. Or take the metrical test. Hesiod and the Hymns show very distinct signs of degeneration. It has hardly been suggested that there are any imperfections in the verse of *K*.

These linguistic demonstrations have not been successful, and their failure has been admitted even by some of those who believe in the gradual building up and patching of the epics through centuries. In fact the procedure in this department of the *Pulverisierungsmethode* suffered from many defects. An initial bias precluded impartial dealing. Like unscrupulous advocates who confuse the issues, the operators threw on parts of the poems the burden of purging themselves of the presumption against them. Guilt did not require to be proved, only confirmed, by 'peculiarities'; Philocleon was not to be balked. One cannot have much confidence in Menrad when he refuses to make in *K* an emendation which is necessary to save the face of *O*. This is to proceed *Κυκλωπικῶς*. There was also undue haste in characterizing phenomena as novelties, in spite of the warnings of Croiset and others, that we do not know the exact age of all the words in the Homeric language. And the possibility of the surface corruption which, as Mr. Agar says, 'no literary masterpiece can quite escape, if it is to retain its hold on a people,' was too often overlooked. It hardly seems to be thought of in

Professor Bolling's paper already referred to. It is interesting to compare Hennings and Wilamowitz on such forms as μαχούμενος and οὔσης with Mr. Agar on the same. What authority on the digamma, for instance, would say in sober earnest that every neglect of it now apparent on the face of the text was in that text as originally composed? Many of the emendations made to remove such small blemishes have been confirmed by new MSS and papyri. Linguistic procedure was altogether too rigid. The possibility of an author's changing his style, deliberately or insensibly, with change of subject, as Shakspere and Goethe and Schiller have been shown to do, and as most poets do, was another consideration that was overlooked, as also the wondrous *polyonymia Homeri* and flexibility of the language of the poems. And the tests applied were devised with a haste and employed with an assurance which their inventors must regret. A more extended and less precipitate inquiry would have prevented the failures which ensued. There happened to be an unusually large number of instances of ἐς in Ω as compared with *A*. That was enough; it must be due to the original sin of Ω. But when the form was given fairer and wider treatment, the case based on it crumbled away. And lastly, there was the necessity for postulating the existence of strange beings, *ex machina*, shadowy and faint, in truth mere εἴδωλα, but strong to serve their creators when they had drunk of the blood and had been made πεπνυμένοι *ad hoc*, and had finally been converted into *Stümpers* or dolts who could not help bungling their intrusions. Nothing has caused more repugnance than this to the results which have been achieved. It was all in imitation of Wolf and his Pisistratus. The case was the one put by Sir Henry Maine in another connection —'a long blank period follows a genius, in which the imitativeness of his successors is the chief characteristic.' The *Stümpers*, *Flick-Poets*, and *Bearbeiters* are the progeny of Pisistratus, and must vanish into the limbo to which the vast majority of Homeric scholars have now consigned the more imposing figure of the statesman himself.

The Homeric criticism of the nineteenth century left a wreck; the twentieth is 'finding a way, after the wreck, to rise in.' The higher criticism of Homer has been found out, and its excesses will hardly find a defender nowadays. Not

the least of these was its arrogant intolerance of any opposition. That its view was the right one *omnium consensu*, and that Unitarians were not to reason with, were common forms of expression, so certain were the higher critics that they were the people and that Homeric wisdom would die with them. Even the usually judicious von Christ could speak of an opponent as *homo omni recti verique sensu destitutus*. Rothe, who now receives the most generous recognition from opponents in Germany, was let severely alone; in summaries of Homeric literature his thirty years' work would barely be mentioned. His procedure, like that of all Unitarians, was 'unscientific'; the methods of true science were the privileged possession of the opposition. The term was applied even to Blass by Wilamowitz, and Cauer set Andrew Lang's *H and H* aside because it was 'unscientific.' To Professor Murray—in *RGE*[1]—Lang's book was a mere 'sniping at the outposts.' And these men were the votaries of the systems of *Kompositionskritik* and *Quellenkritik* which Drerup and Belzner, and Witte and Mülder, and others in Germany are now telling us are utterly useless for the solution of the problem; these were the patrons of the linguistic arts which have been described above. It was *hybris*, the way that wicked men have trod. And now, if satisfaction is expressed that a revulsion has taken place, and that commonsense is more in favour, Professor Prentice describes it as 'malicious'[1] and begs Unitarians, as he persists in calling them in spite of Professor Murray, not to say, what no one has ever said, 'that there have been no good results from the labour and study of scholars and critics all these years, or that we are all Unitarians now.' *Irrita jurgia jactat*, as he feels that even in Germany, the home of this lost Homeric cause, the Unitarian dogs are beginning to have the best of it. What Unitarians do say is that the methods of the 'science' of which the higher criticism claimed the monopoly were radically bad. That is abundantly shown by the history of their dealings with the language. In *JHS* xxxi 127, an appeal is made by 'G.M.' to a Unitarian not to 'study to confute.' Compliance is impossible so long as treatises devoted to the disintegration of the epics appeal to these linguistic criteria and treat the results obtained by means of them as conclusive. See, for one

[1] *Am. J. Phil.* 1913, 337 ff.

of the most recent statements of the assumption, Cuny, *Le nombre Duel en Grec*, 488.

The dictum of L. Friedländer, that no solution of the Homeric question can ever be other than merely hypothetical, may be correct, and it may be that scholars must continue to wander in the wilderness, προπροκυλινδόμενοι, without hope of a goal. But surely it should be allowable to the linguistic experts to hope that they may be able some day to say whether the language is or is not one, and, if it is, that consequently the poems are the product of a certain age. Their efforts to prove it is not have so far been, to use words of Professor Prentice, 'an utter failure.' *Nil dignum tanto hiatu*. That being so, and the attempts having been so numerous and determined, Unitarians may be pardoned if they begin to think that the enterprise is futile, and that they may venture to preserve a belief in the oneness of the Homeric language.

THE FOURTH FOOT OF THE HOMERIC HEXAMETER

CR XXIX (1915)

For the caesura after the fourth trochee, and breaches, in a Westminster Version and in the Ode to Professor Ridgeway, of the rule forbidding it, Mr. Gaselee (*supra*, p. 48) might have referred to the notes by Professor Tyrrell and Dr. Hayman in *CR* xvii 365 and xviii 226. Such a caesura not infrequently appears in Greek hexameter and elegiac compositions. In a recent epigram[1] one hexameter ends, ποτέρου δὲ τὸ δῶρον ἄρειον, and to some that is a clear case.

How far can the veto on verses with this caesura be considered a rule for Homer, the 'father of the rest,' and the model that composers generally emulate? In other words, are fourth trochees many or few in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? Professor Tyrrell (*l.c.*) went so far as to say that he did not believe that from the two poems two sound verses could be adduced

[1] 'In Memoriam W. G. C. G.' (*The Times*, April 17th, 1915).

with such a caesura, except when the verse ends with a polysyllable, and that the only one in which such a caesura may not be avoided by a very simple correction seemed to be μ 47, ἐπὶ δ' οὔατ' ἀλεῖψαι ἑταίρων. And even there a determined expurgator might say the elision cures the defect.

This dictum appears to be too sweeping. The discussion of the question, with exhaustive enumeration, which is usually referred to is van Leeuwen's in *Mnemos.* xviii 265 ff., condensed (and altered) in his *Enchiridium*, 18 ff. From this it appears that there are a number of lines which certainly exhibit this caesura. Attempts have, of course, been made to 'correct' most of them; but some resist, and van Leeuwen, in his paper in *Mnemosyne*, avoided, in several cases, the Charybdis of the fourth trochee only to fall into the Scylla of Wernicke.[1] It must be admitted that there are some ineradicable cases in the poems.

And the enumeration in question shows that there are really more instances than those included in this unyielding residuum. These are explained away, some as inexcusable, others as only apparent. Thus, in one class of cases the effect of the final polysyllable is relied on, and στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι and ἐμοῖσι κασιγνήτοισι are not objected to. But as it is not suggested by van Leeuwen or any other authority that the polysyllable helps to palliate the objectionable element, whatever that may be, in a fourth trochee, how can he say that it renders the passages in question 'to some extent tolerable'? It has no doubt occurred to some who have wondered what there might be in this polysyllable, that the excuse is based on the length of the word, which makes it difficult ἐφαρμόζειν ἑξαμέτρῳ. But as Ποσειδάωνι (-ος, -α) and κασιγνήτοισι, and many other words of the same metrical value, are found frequently in other positions, and are final in only ten cases, the difficulty in accommodating them does not warrant resort to a scansion that is essentially vicious. Homer uses even longer words without detriment to the metre.

But there are many other lines which may be construed as containing a fourth trochaic. In regard to these it is

[1] Just as Wordsworth, in discussing fourth spondaics in his edition of Theocritus (Preface, x), gets rid of two by boldly rearranging the lines so as to produce fourth trochaics.

argued that there is no caesura at all. In one set, the connection between a short or shortly scanned monosyllable, forming the last syllable of the trochee, and the syllable that follows it is said to be so close that they must be pronounced without a pause or ictus-rest between them; and so, it is explained, there is no break in the line. A common case is one in which *καί* is concerned. In the hemistich *σκῆπτρον καὶ ἀεικέα πήρην* we are to scan *σκῆπτρον | καὶ ἀ-*, not *σκῆπτρον καὶ | ἀ-*, and as *καί* is generally taken to be *προκλιτικώτατον*, this is no doubt correct, though surely the *καί* in such expressions adheres closely also to the word that precedes it.[1] So with certain prepositions in the same position in the verse. These, it is said, *ad sequentia trahuntur* in such combinations as *φέρων ἀν' ὅμιλον ἅπάντῃ* or *νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι πεσόντα*. The preposition is treated as practically inseparable from the word it governs. But Dr. Leaf, when considering some violations of Wernicke's Law (*Iliad*, vol. ii 636), tells us that the connection of the Homeric preposition with its case is loose, and it is not always easy to say whether the preposition is in closer union with the word that follows or with the verb or other word that precedes. But in addition to this a difficulty arises. We have, though more rarely, the same species of combination in the third foot—*προπάροιθε πυλάων, τῆλε νεός*, or even *πόντῳ ἐν*. If there is practically a coalescence of preposition and noun in such phrases in the fourth foot, we must hold the same about them when they occur in the third, and give up in the latter case the most characteristic rhythm of the Homeric hexameter. Lines containing the common break in the third foot must be converted into hephthemimerals or worse. The reply will be, presumably, that that result must be accepted, but it is a question if such a metrical construction of these third trochees has ever occurred to any one.

The same may be said of another considerable class. In these an enclitic makes a fourth trochee with a preceding long syllable, and the phrase which the trochee forms or ends is said to be attached so intimately to the word that follows, that no break is felt. Thus, in a case like *ὡς εἴ τε πατήρ*, it

[1]The fact that the diphthong of *καί* remains uncorrepted in some cases in the Bucolic Diaeresis—as, *ἀγανὸς καὶ ἤπιος ἔστω*—seems to show that a rest after the conjunction is not precluded.

appears to be affirmed that there can be no pause or rest after the τε in the utterance of the whole phrase. Then the same must surely be said of these four words when they occur, as they do, in the middle of the line. And so in other instances. If there is no caesura in ἐπεί κε τέκωσι (fourth), there can be none in οὐ μὲν γάρ κε δάμη or οὐ γάρ κεν ὑπέκφυγον (third). And the same may be said of Τρωσίν τε καὶ Ἕκτορι δίῳ or λιγύς περ ἐών (fourth) compared with ἄλοχός τε καὶ ὑψερεφές and γυμνόν περ ἐόντ', respectively (third).

And how far are we to extend this principle? van Leeuwen would even condone such cases as ἐγώ γε νεώτερός εἰμι and ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπεύω. These can be paralleled in the third foot, where probably no one has ever thought of denying a rest at the enclitic. That being so, a rest is possible after the enclitic in the fourth foot. He also excuses a case of adverb and verb. But if the two words ὀψὲ δύοντα *arte cohaerent* in the fourth foot, the same may be said of ἰθὺς ἐλαύνετε, τόσσον ἐχώσατο and similar combinations in the third. And must we not go on to adjectives and nouns, to verbs and their objects, and to other similar combinations? If we once go beyond the enclitics and perhaps δέ and καί, it will be hard to say where we should draw the line. Many third trochees will vanish. Possibly those who are bent on abolishing the fourth trochee out of Homer will say, let them vanish. But others will protest. It seems to be a question between grammar and rhythm. Must not the former yield? Greek and English verse may not be *in pari materia*, but at least the following lines from one of Swinburne's odes will illustrate the point. Are we to read them with strict regard to orthoepy based on the close grammatical connection apparent in every one of them, or with the obviously intended rhythm and rest?

> Sea and strand, and a lordlier land | than seatides rolling and rising sun
> Clasp and lighten in climes that brighten | with day when day was here is done,
> Call aloud on their children, proud | with trust that future and past are one.

The brief rest due to the ictus does no violence to the sense.

The rule which bears the name of 'Wernicke's Law' is another which is at times disregarded by composers. In the

Ridgeway Ode one hexameter ends *ἀγοραῖσιν κυδιανείραις*. Purists would object to that as a particularly bad violation, though it has two parallels in Homer, *ὕπερθεν δὲ σκολόπεσσι* (*Il.* xiii. 55), and *ἐπέεσσιν πειρηθῆναι* (*Od.* xxiv. 240), but possibly the author would agree with Mr. Agar in denying the rule for Homer. It has been well discussed in the *CR*; see x 43 f., xi 29 ff., and 151 ff. Dr. Leaf sums up in App. N. to his *Iliad*, and saves remnants of the law by accepting certain modifications of its terms as usually stated. But his investigation seems to be open to remarks of much the same kind as those passed on van Leeuwen's disquisition. Thus we are to regard *ἄλλος λαός* 'almost as a single word.' But has any one ever suggested that about *κεῖνος* or *οὗτος ἀνήρ* or *οἶκος ὅδ'* in the third foot? Again, if an elided vowel helps to annul the effect of a pause in the Bucolic Diaeresis, so it must in a combination of words in the third foot such as *μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς*. We shall really be compelled, in many instances, to revise our notions regarding the main break in the hexameter. For the *βοῶπις* cases Dr. Leaf seems to have authority on his side, but *γλαυκῶπις* leaves a doubt. It hardly seems sufficient ground for rejecting Bentley's *Τιταρησόν* and *Αἰτωλόν* (*B* 751 and *E* 706), that they 'introduce a licence which is far less usual than a violation of the digamma,' for the opportunities for the former are immensely fewer than those for the latter. 'The rule of the molossus,' to which there are a number of exceptions that cannot be explained away,[1] can hardly be regarded as authority for questioning *Κηφισόν* in *B* 522. Bentley's *Κηφισοῦ* seems to have been accepted by nobody. And a doubtful distinction is drawn between a final syllable long in itself by position, and one long by position due to a consonant in the following word. There are, in short, a number of obstructive instances in the *Iliad*. The *Odyssey* is in like case, and apparently the expurgation of the 'exceptions' in it has not been attempted.

Mr. Agar, it has been said, denies that the law applies to Homer. He believes that the objection to the rhythm in question, which is scrupulously observed by, for instance, Apollonius Rhodius, was a late invention, and imposed on

[1]Professor Platt (*Journ. Phil.* xviii, 120 ff.) gets rid of genitives in *-ου* by resolving into *-οο*. But see Mr. Drewitt in *AJPh* xxxiv 43 ff. And *Θηβαίοο* and *Μενελάοο* do not sound happy restorations.

Homer in later times by alteration of the text; and, in support of that view, he shows (*CR* xi 29 ff.) that in a number of cases breaches of the 'law' which were in the text originally can be restored with little difficulty. Dr. Leaf dismisses these 'conjectural "emendations" ' with a word, but Professor Platt thought there was 'a great deal to be said' for many of them (*ibid.* xi 15), and Mr. Barnett (*ibid.* xiii 208) appears to accept them without demur. Many conjectural emendations have been received into the Homeric text, and quite a number of these have been confirmed by the discovery of new MSS. It is a question of evidence, and Mr. Agar's changes are generally reasonable. The violations of the 'law' which are thus introduced, and those which, in spite of Dr. Leaf's statement, must be considered to be in the poems already, together constitute a fairly formidable body of instances.

It is surely better to allow such departures from general practice, and not to seek, by doubtful expedients, to force refinements of the laws of Homeric rhythm. Attempts have been made to clear the Bucolic Diaeresis of another irregularity, the non-correption of a final long vowel or diphthong, but these Dr. Leaf discountenances. That the poet or poets did not like a trochee in the fourth foot, and preferred, when it ended with a word, to make the last syllable long by nature, may be admitted; but apparently that is all that can be said. A more interesting question is why there should have been this dislike. As regards the fourth trochee, anyone who has made hexameters for himself knows that it constitutes an unpleasantness, and one which a polysyllable at the end of the line, or an ἐπεί κε or a ὡς εἴ τε does not remove or mitigate. He who writes down a hexameter with such a fourth foot, and does not at once perceive that it is faulty, may be said not to have a good ear. But why does a trochee at that particular point make a verse halt, when it has not that effect elsewhere? A satisfactory answer does not appear to have been given. Witte, in his discussion in *Glotta* iv 9, does not attempt one. He only finds the explanation of the rarity of fourth trochees in the origin of the hexameter, but is not quite successful. He seems to claim more knowledge of the original components of the hexameter than can be granted him. Dr. Leaf (*l.c.* 635, and cf. Mr. Drewitt in *CQ* ii 104)

explains both rules in the same way; the hearer must not think the line is closed. But could he think the line had closed when he had heard only two-thirds of it, when he was only a foot and a half beyond the middle of the line as indicated by an almost universal caesura, and at a point where the line is as it were gathering itself for the final effort to the close? That seems unlikely, not to say impossible. If a marked pause, as contrasted with an habitual rest, were frequent after the fourth spondee, there might be some ground for the idea. But it is not; on the contrary, such a pause is rare. There are in the poems about 2,960 fourth spondaics, and, if one may judge from a count for *A–M* there are probably not more than 160 of these in which there is a pause that justifies a punctuation mark of any description. Still, that there was, as Dr. Leaf says, 'some special influence at work at this particular point of the line,' seems proved by the figures he gives. What that influence was has yet, it would appear, to be discovered. Mr. Barnett, in trying to explain, has to manipulate the text a good deal. A final explanation of these supposed canons will have to go deep. Meantime the modern composer who *Homerum studet aemulari* had better perhaps observe them. If his disregard of them is frequent, his title to be considered *'Ομηρικώτατος* will be impugned.

Both rules were more carefully regarded, it is said, 'in later Greek,' but just when strict observance became general has not been determined. It may be remarked of Theognis and Theocritus—the latter when not *βωκολιασδόμενος*—that, allowing, of course, for the much smaller number of their hexameters, they seem to be in very much the same case as Homer. In this connection Wordsworth's discussion already referred to and some of his notes *a.l.* are of interest.

NARRATIVE AND SPEECH SCANSION

CP XI (1916)

IN *AJPh* xxxvi 280 ff., Mr. Drewitt discusses the -σσ- forms in Homer. In some preliminary remarks he assures us it is 'well-known' that the scansion of the two epics is 'graded in a rather curious way.' The narrative of Il.* is stricter in its versification than that of B^2, etc., which is again stricter than the narrative of the *Odyssey*.[1] Speech is worse than narrative, and Odyssean speech inferior to Iliadic. 'Among the changes in the verse, four stand out most clearly. The lines are such that they need to be recited faster; verse-pause becomes conventional, not functional; ictus is less emphasized; and there is a *growing disregard of gratuitous spondees*.' That all this is well known will be admitted by nobody; what is meant is merely that Mr. Drewitt believes he has proved it. It may be useful therefore to test the evidence in one department, viz., in regard to what are designated gratuitous spondees. It consists of (1) 'the distribution of the temporal augment,' (2) 'scansions like καλ|ός, etc,' and (3) '*though perhaps not so clearly*, the handling of the -σσ- forms.'

Mr. Drewitt's two papers on the subject of the augment (*CQ* vi 44 ff., and 104 ff.) were criticized in *CP* vii 397 ff.; see also viii 349 ff., and ix 189 ff. Nothing, so far as I am aware, has been added to these statements of his case, which was shown to be based on complete misappreciation of the statistics. His assertion in the course of the foregoing discussion that 'spondaic datives in -εσσι go up by leaps and bounds,' was challenged, but does not appear to have been made good. These forms play a part in the present paper, but, before noticing them, reference may be made to the third piece of evidence mentioned above, viz., the scansion καλ|ός. This is not, I think, the first time that the statement has been made, and it does not appear to lose *vires eundo*, for on p. 296 of the present paper it is said that the difference between the scansion of Il.* and that of the *Odyssey* 'comes out nowhere better than in the treatment of words like ἄλλ|ος, καλ|ός, etc. The divergence here is *glaringly obvious*, and must be eventually

[1] Il.* means the *Iliad* without B 489—end, Θ, I, K, Ψ, Ω, which are called B^2, etc.

admitted by all who are interested in Homer.' On the contrary, it may be emphatically denied even in regard to these two prominent type words.

The occurrences of the word καλός in the *Odyssey* are 150 to 139 in the *Iliad*, or, allowing for the smaller area of the former, 4 in it to every 3 of the *Iliad*. We may therefore expect to find καλ|ός, which is quite familiar to Il.,* preponderating in the same proportion in the *Odyssey*. Now there are in all 47 instances of the scansion, 16 in the *Iliad* and 31 in the *Odyssey*. That looks bad. But let us compare the occurrences in the purest and most ancient tract, Il.* narrative, with the latest and most depraved portion of the poetry, Odyssean speech. The figures are 9 to 16, or, on an equality of number of lines, about 12 to 16. The degeneration through centuries is far from staggering! But, if we observe that καλ|ός occurs in four duplicate phrases in Odyssean speech, and in perhaps one in Il.* narrative, and remember that the word καλός is used more frequently in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, the balance of depravity is really with the latter. And the speech of the *Odyssey* has, proportionally, far fewer than its narrative, which is strange indeed.

Ἄλλος is one of many words which, for reasons peculiar to the poet or poets and the subject-matter, are much more commonly used in speech, there being 8 occurrences there for every 3 in narrative. Now the scansion ἄλλ|ος is found in all 155 times. It appears 28 times in Il.* narrative and 63 in Odyssean speech, or, on an equality of lines, about 35 to 63, which, if we bear in mind the proportion of the total occurrences of ἄλλος in speech and narrative respectively, again leaves a margin in favour of Odyssean speech. And anyone who carefully scrutinizes and classifies the occurrences of this word in the two poems will assuredly say that the idea of any difference between them in regard to its scansion is not to be entertained. The rashness with which the scansion of the two words is forced on us does not incline us to have confidence in the present manipulation of figures. If there is no real difference between so-called late and early in a case in which it is affirmed that there is a 'glaringly obvious' divergence, we may be prepared for still greater weakness in this whole paper on the -σσ- forms, in regard to which the difference is admitted to be 'not so clearly' perceptible.

The method adopted for the exploitation of these forms is as bad as before. There is the same deliberate neglect of essential matters. The distinction inside speech between colloquy and narrative of past events is ignored. There is no reference to the very different lengths of the six sections, Il.* B^2, etc., Odyssean speech and narrative, into which the poems are divided. Il.* excludes *Θ*, no reason being given. It includes *A*, though to Mr. Drewitt *A* is thoroughly 'Odyssean,' and the *Apaté*, and Nestor's tale in *A*, and the *Hoplopoiia*, though these have all the same taint. *MNΞO* are degenerate, *NΞO* being deemed 'extremely late,' but they are nevertheless retained in the earliest section, which is thus an extraordinary collection of bits ancient and modern. The *Odyssey* is a unit; there is never a word of *Telemachy*, *Tisis*, *Bogenkampf*, etc. The *Apologoi* are treated as wholly speech. Subject-matter as influencing vocabulary is never referred to; the repetitions which it causes are of no account in the calculations. Chance is disregarded; any variation in the figures from arithmetical proportion must be due to degeneration. Passages are assumed to be early, earlier, or earliest, or 'late work' or 'very late indeed,' just as may be necessary, and the argument is helped out by a special terminology of which exceeding great use is made. An objectionable phenomenon may be disposed of at once by calling it a 'speech-phrase,' a 'petrifaction,' a 'shift,' a 'displacement,' or the like, so that *petitio principii* and assumption are writ large over the whole paper. It is not difficult, with such munitions, to make havoc of the poetry.

Worst of all, a fundamental difference between speech and narrative in the matter of inflections and vocabulary is completely ignored. There are a multitude of forms, words, and phrases which can appear only in speech, and that is the only known explanation of any differences there may be between the versification of Homeric speech and that of narrative, and of their respective capacities for elisions, correption, dovetails, overlengths, and all the rest. For brief statements, see *CP* vii 411, and *CW* ix. Neglect of this point vitiates much of the tabulated work in Mr. Drewitt's paper. Let anyone, remembering merely that imperatives and vocatives, and first and second persons in verbs, and the pronouns and pronominal adjectives of those persons are found only in

speech, and that presents and futures, conjunctives and optatives, and even infinitives are vastly more common there than in narrative, mark such forms in, for example, the list (*b*) on p. 281, (*b*) on p. 284, or the second list of instances of apocope on p. 294, and ponder the result. So determinedly oblivious of this consideration is Mr. Drewitt that on p. 283 he remarks that an infinitive like ἔσσεσθαι has only one certain instance in narrative, while there are 6 occurrences of ἔσονται in speech. He surely knows that, except for a rare infinitive or participle of purpose, the future may be said to be wholly confined to speech. A similar restriction of the conjunctive entirely neutralizes the effect of the discovery that 'bacchiacs like εἴπῃσι are fairly common in speech.'

It is by contemplation of mere totals, coupled with bold manipulation of individual cases, that the dative plurals in -εσσι are made to support the general position. The table on p. 290 is said to show that the 'irregular -εσσι' encroaches, until it eventually 'may be taken as normal.' The number of 'avoidable spondees,' as they are called, has actually risen from 28 in Il.* narrative to 53 in Odyssean speech. Proportionally to numbers of lines the latter should have only 35, so it has 18 in excess, but, when repetition in standing commonplace is allowed for on both sides, the difference almost vanishes. But had there been a real difference, would it have been startling? Perhaps the following will help to an answer. The list given in the second note on p. 290 of avoidable spondees in speeches shows an extraordinary difference *inside* the speech of B^2, etc. In *I* and *K* the objectionable forms occur once in every 60 lines, in the other four books only once in every 220. In the one set it is between three and four times as common as in the other. If such a difference exists between parts of the same homogeneous section, can we wonder at a far smaller difference between one section and another? Is nothing to be assigned to the inexplicable but by no means negligible residuum of cause which we are obliged to label chance? Is there anything sinister in the fact that καλός is never used in the genitive plural, or about the following occurrences in the poems, ἄλλου only 9 times, but ἄλλον, 80, and ἄλλος over 100?

But, as the inference from the table is evidently an extreme one, which would hardly impress even a careless reader, the

conclusion is supported by four frequently recurring datives, *ἄνδρεσσι, νήεσσι, πάντεσσι,* and *χείρεσσι,* some of which are said to give 'a beautifully clear and *unforced* illustration of the way in which the verse degenerates.' From the occurrences of the first and fourth nothing is to be extracted, and the second can be made profitable only by a desperate juggle with *νέεσσι* and resort to an assumption of 'transferred speech-scansions.' The third, *πάντεσσι,* seems at first sight to give support, and one would be only too glad to admit an occasional bright spot in such a weary waste of error. But when one reflects that the total occurrences of all plural forms of *πᾶς* are 3 in the *Odyssey* to 2 in the *Iliad,* and that there is much more speech in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad,* and when one allows for standing commonplace, the degeneration in *πάντεσσι* is hardly worth mentioning. An individual word proves nothing. It is hard, on the principles adopted, to explain the fact that *στήθεσσι* is almost as plentiful in Il.* narrative as in Odyssean speech. To be sure it is in a category which is not considered, but the classification of these forms which excludes it is made without reference to the controversy which has long been carried on regarding their origin. It seems futile, while that dispute is still unsettled, to reason on mere figures for divisions of the poems which have been arbitrarily fixed. A comparison for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would appeal to many. It would be usefully confined to words common to the two epics, and it would not exclude words which might give *-εσσι* but do not. The survey in Mr. Drewitt's paper is quite inadequate.

The tables given are of no interest, and but few remarks on the tests I have made at other points will suffice here. Take two words to which some prominence is assigned. First, *ὅσος, τόσος,* etc.: as these words are used nearly 3 times as often in speech as in narrative, any forms deemed bad must also be more frequent there. Similarly, the deictic *τοσ(σσ)όσδε, τοσ(σσ)οῦτος* never occur in narrative (nor *τοίσδεσσι* or any other inflection of *ὅδε*). It is no wonder that all these give the vetoed scansion. The other word, *μέσ(σσ)ος,* is entirely against the notion propounded, so an explanation has to be found. 'If *μέσατος* [which occurs in Homer only in the form *μέσσατος,* Θ 223 = Λ 6] is possible, the early examples are easy to explain.' But *μέσατος* has always been

taken to be a superlative, like *νέατος*, *ὔπατος*, etc., and it is strange a superlative should be earlier than a positive, or that a positive should swamp a superlative almost out of existence. This may have happened, but instances are not given.

The faultiness of the method is well shown in the discussion of the pairs of names of Odysseus and Achilles. We are assured that *'Οδυσεύς* and *'Αχιλλεύς* were the real original forms, the basis of this new theory being a proof that *'Οδυσεύς* is original and *'Οδυσσεύς* merely metrical. But the proof cannot be accepted. Its author has an idea that the foundation of the *Iliad*, what used to be called the *Kern*, is not the familiar *Menis*, but 'four self-existent *ἀριστεῖαι* (in *E*, *Λ*, *Π*, and *P*).' In one of these primeval tracts, *Λ* 310-488, the occurrences of the form *'Οδυσεύς* predominate, and this, with help from assumptions regarding what are denominated 'true,' 'standing,' 'most improbable,' and 'downright impossible' scansions, 'dove-tails,' and 'rare devices' in 'late work,' leaves no doubt that it is the earlier form. But all depends on the pristine character of this tract in *Λ*, and as to that there are many critics of the Dissecting school who will not agree for a moment. The first half of the passage has always been gravely suspected. Robert, for instance, in his great work characterized it as *zweifellos eine jüngere Einlage*, and that, be it observed, on linguistic as well as on other grounds, and put it in his third *Iliad*. But there is no need to quote authorities. One can take another method. Consider *'Οδυσεύς* in some of the tracts which are to all Dissectors despicably late. In the 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey* and in the *Telemachy*, when one considers the nature of the occurrences of the older form *'Οδυσεύς*, it more than holds its own. In—almost *horresco referens*—the *Doloneia* there are 11 occurrences of each form in narrative, and, if with Mr. Drewitt we exclude from consideration introductions to and resumptions from speeches, 8 of the genuine form to 4 of the newer one. Even in speech there are 4 of the former to 1 of the latter. The criterion on which the proof is based cannot be accepted as a criterion at all. Then Achilles is dragged in—mercifully *'Απόλλων* kept his name, *θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται*—and an elaborate table of the occurrences of the two forms of his name and that of Odysseus is

given, which is held to prove without more ado that the one name affected the other. But we are simply to make up our minds on totals; we are not to examine details. We are not to consider the different lengths of the six sections into which the poems have been artificially subdivided, the very different parts in these sections which the two protagonists play, the effect of the suitability of the forms with the double consonant for the end of the verse and the enormous totals of the occurrences there, the large proportion of the occurrences of all four forms which are mere repetitions of standing commonplace, or the introductions to and resumptions from speeches; we are simply invited to execute a statistical goose-step, looking neither to the left hand nor to the right, but keeping our eyes to the front on the mere brute totals and seeing nothing but what we are told is evident on the face of them. It is the statistical method reduced *ad absurdum*.

In regard to the 'avoidable spondee,' it is unfortunate that the thing is not defined. It is no doubt a spondee that could have been avoided, but who is to decide, and how are people to agree on, the point whether the poet or poets are free from blame in strewing this blemish about their compositions? How many absolutely indispensable spondees are there in Homer outside proper names? His *polyonymia* bids us reply, very few. But for present purposes we must dub a spondee avoidable whenever we are bidden. Some have been discovered which are peculiar to B^2, etc., or to the *Odyssey*—though none, apparently, to parts of Il.* which are, in universal Dissecting opinion, as late and debased as they are. One such is ἰμερτός, used once of a river. The author of the *Boiotia* should of course have used ἰμερόεις, which occurs 9 times in the rest of the poems, though never with a proper name. Was ever poet in this temper badgered? And will it be asserted that a similar list cannot be prepared for that hotch-potch of late and early elements, Il.*? Again, 'since -ηθεν from -η- stems *may* represent -ηφιν,' we are invited, without further explanation of the effect of the suffix, to compare the spondaic examples. The comparison proves nothing. And so for ἔντοσθε and ἔκτοσθε. It is said that '-εσκ|ε -ον of the iterative is not found in the narrative of Il.*' But it is, once, and the instances in speech can be reduced, as they include repetitions. In fact, had the composers of Il.*

given us two and a fraction more instances, there would have been equality. Next we are introduced to μῦθος and ποιῶ. The not very clear statement regarding them seems to suggest that they have in many cases replaced, or been badly used for, ἔπος and τεύχω. Evidently there were synonyms—or 'equivalents'—in Homeric times, if there are none in modern languages. But again there is marked disregard of the extent to which some words are appropriated by speech. For example, μῦθος, though it occurs in the poems 293 times, appears in narrative proper only 19 times, while 274 are either in speech or in the introductions to and resumptions from speeches. If μῦθος is mishandled more in speech than in narrative, we can hardly complain. τελευτάω is another verb which occurs just once in narrative, outside a common formula. So for τοιοῦτος and the remark that there is in the *Odyssey*—where speech predominates!—'an increasing freedom in the use of the spondaic οὗτος and τοιόσδε.' The writer surely cannot be unaware that the latter word is entirely, and the former almost wholly, confined to speech. He adds ἐνταῦθα, which is found in Homer once! The three occurrences of ἐνταυθοῖ may be allowed him in addition. But there is no gilding these bits of dross.

The paper ends with a list designed to illustrate the tendency to increasing use of spondaics in 'later work,' a designation which vitiates all. But the list is so weak as hardly to deserve criticism. How can anyone be sure that ἀλλοῖος, αἰδοῖος and ἀφνειός contain spondees? Is αἰδοίοισι, ο 373, certainly the exact equivalent of ἱκέτῃσι? Monro (*a.l.*) is far from thinking so. If words so pertinent to the subject of the *Odyssey* as αἰτίζω, κεχρημένος, ἐσθής are to be quoted, what of the host of words in Il.* like αἰχμή -τής, ἐγχείη, ὑσμίνη? Friedländer's *Verzeichnisse* had better be referred to. How could the imperative παρφάσθαι be used out of speech? ἱδρύω, τόλμησε, αἰτέω do not support the contention set up or only very weakly, ἱερὴ ἶς is naturally used before a following initial consonant as an alternative to ἱερὸν μένος. μεταλλῆσαι is used 5 times out of 6 in a standing expression, always final in the verse. The occurrences of ἦμος, always in time formulae in narrative, are worth examining. Simply because the *Odyssey* has these formulae more frequently than the *Iliad*, an unfavourable inference must be

drawn. Even *βίη Τεύκροιο* and *Λεοντῆος μένος*, which occur just once each, are made to swell the list. And so on. The poor poet! About *Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῇ* there seems to be some mistake. But it is cruel to examine these lists closely. Instead, one may remark that there appears to be an implication that such a list could not be compiled for Il.* Will that be flatly asserted? And, finally, there is this point. Counters of spondees and dactyls in Homer have not agreed in their results, as there is disagreement on some textual points—the augment and the resolution of diphthongs, for instance. The probability is, and it may sound strange to some readers of Homer, that there is a very slight excess of spondees in the *Odyssey*. But, if the depraved tendency which has now been discovered, and which strangely enough was of force, if not rampant, in what is called 'early work,' had been operating and growing during the centuries which elapsed between the birth of the four self-subsistent *ἀριστεῖαι* and the last patching of the *Odyssey*, its effect in the multiplication of spondees in the later poem would have been most marked. As we find no such great excess, we cannot believe the poetry was subject to this alleged influence. *μνηστήρ*—giving well on to 300 spondees!—is certainly one of the causes of the small excess in the *Odyssey*. As to an excess of spondees in speech over narrative, my tests lead me to reject it. Comparing (on the Oxford text) the worst and latest with the best and earliest, that is, the 367 lines in speech in the 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey* with the first 367 lines in narrative in the *Iliad*, I find the spondees (excluding those final in the verse) are respectively 461 and 448. There is not much degeneration there. But strangely enough the first 367 lines in speech in the *Iliad* yield only 420, or actually fewer than the narrative. Numbers of course vary very much. In the first 253 lines of the *Doloneia* the proportion of spondees in speech and narrative is the same. Testing the *Kyklopeia*, 105-370, I find about 3 spondees to every 2 lines; in Nestor's speech in *γ* 102-200, not a whole one to a line. I wonder if any narrative can be found which matches it. It is surpassed by Hephaestus' excited little outburst in *θ* 306-20. The original 'self-subsistent' Aristeia in *Λ*, and the slaying of Hector, *X* 90-394, give practically the same number of spondees in speech and narrative. The *Hoplopoiia*, *Σ* 468-

617, all narrative, is well weighted, far more so than speech generally. So for the first stretch of narrative in the Odyssey, α 96-157. I see some reason for believing that this is a matter in which the distinction, already mentioned, between two kinds of speech is worth bearing in mind. That subject-matter must have an influence goes without saying. And poets have their moods and may change their styles. Certainly we have not had the last word on the point.

As in the case of the augment, so for the forms now under consideration, the statistics fail to convince wherever they are tested, and those who believe, in whatever degree, in the unity of the poetry do not need to be disturbed by the very positive tone in which the results are announced. Not many are able to spare laborious days for the examination of such statistics, but those who can will find their reward in confirmed conviction as to the uniformity of the language and verse of Homer. The papers will doubtless be accepted by some Dissectors, and quoted in the future, as proving indubitably that the poems are the work of innumerable hands. Such assertions should be neglected unless accompanied by an assurance that those who make them have examined the statistics and looked up and studied the nature of the relevant citations for themselves. When Mr. Drewitt's first paper appeared, Professor Murray accepted the results at once as 'proved.' It would be interesting to know how many weeks, for weeks would be necessary, the professor devoted to the verification of the statistics, and whether it occurred to him that there is an outstanding difference between the forms and vocabulary of speech and those of narrative which Mr. Drewitt has never even noticed. Here is an undeniable divergence which must affect the verse—it makes, for instance, correption of a final long vowel or diphthong just *twice* as frequent in speech as in narrative—and any comparison of the metrical facts which ignores it is useless. But the main point in regard to the present theory is that the statistics do not support it. On the contrary, the method of interpretation is so defective in its disregard of essentials as to call for the strongest possible protest. The καλ|ός ἄλλ|ος cases are glaring instances of its application. Things have really come to a pass when we are told we *must* accept a notion which can be refuted by a mere count in the

Index Homericus. There was ground for hoping that this reckless forcing of facts and figures to fit some fancy had ceased, but the practice evidently dies hard, infructuous though every effort of the kind has been. The fixed idea is still there.

CORREPTION IN HOMERIC SPEECH AND NARRATIVE

CW IX (1916)

IT is a familiar fact that there are considerable differences, metrical and linguistic, between the general narrative and the speeches of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. I have recently stumbled on one which I have never seen mentioned, namely, that correption—by which I mean here the shortening of a final long vowel or diphthong before an initial vowel in the following word—is about twice as frequent in speech as in narrative.

A rough count of a few passages selected at random is sufficient to establish this. In *Ω* there are 63 cases of correption in 352 lines in narrative, and 188 in 452 lines in speech. 188 in 452 corresponds to 146 in 352, so that the numbers for 352 lines of each are, narrative, 63, speech, 146. In the *Shield*, *Σ* 468-617, 150 lines, all narrative, there are 20 instances, and in the first 150 narrative lines in *A* there are 35. In the first 150 lines in speech in *A* there are 65. In *γ* there are 166 lines in narrative, with 31 correptions. In the first 166 lines in speech in the same book there are 56. Lastly in the first 310 lines of *ν* there are 151 lines in narrative and 159 in speech. The correptions are respectively 26 and 63.

The difference in the figures is striking, and one may be sure that in the old days, when German and Germanized critics were eagerly welcoming anything that could be used as anti-Homeric munition, it would have been made the basis of unfavourable inference, along with the now harmlessly exploded abstract nouns, iteratives, appellatives, and

all the rest. The real explanation is much simpler, and becomes clear on a scrutiny of the individual correptions. It is this, that, while in speech all forms can be used which can be used in narrative, there are many words ending in a long vowel or diphthong which can occur only in speech. I do not attempt a complete enumeration of these latter; it will suffice to indicate some. Thus presents, future and perfects are of course much more common in speech, and parts in the first and second persons are almost wholly confined to it. Single examples of numerous instances are *ζώω, μένει, κεύθῃ, παρίσταμαι, -σαι, ἀνείρεαι, δύνανται, πέμψω, φύσει, μαχήσομαι, δαήσεαι, ὑποθήσεται, βέβληαι.* The imperative (including the infinitive so used, as *φάσθαι*) is similarly confined to speech, *ἴτω, φάσθω, φράζεν, ἔα.* Add the second person of the middle aorist, as *ἔπλευ*, though this may be written *ἔπλε'*, the optative, expressive of a wish, as *βάλοι, δοίη*, and the pronouns, *ἐγώ, μοι, ἐμοί, μου, σου, τοι.* The forms *κείνου, -η -ῳ* etc. belong to speech, with the exception of a few occurrences of the phrase *ἤματι κείνῳ.* So too do vocatives, *ὦ γύναι, ὦ φίλοι*, and interjections *ὦ πόποι, ὤμοι.* There are besides many words ending in long vowels or diphthongs which are common, some of them much more common, in speech than in narrative. Examples are *δή* and *ἐπεί.* Many others may be discovered by any one who will take the trouble to count occurrences in Gehring's *Index Homericus.*

But a distinction has to be noted. There is a speech which is colloquy and in which the first and second persons are prominent. The speeches in the great Quarrel in *A* or in the Farewell of Hector and Andromache in *Z* are instances. In such cases correption abounds. And there is speech which is merely the poet's narrative of past events put into the mouth of an actor in the epic drama, as Glaukos's story of Bellerophon in *Z*, Nestor's of the Pylian raid in *Λ* or the *Apologoi* in the *Odyssey.* In these passages correption is, as we should expect, reduced to the proportions we observe in narrative generally.

Differences between speech and narrative have occasionally been commented on, and have even been used in support of a theory of the origin of epic poetry. Mr. Drewitt, in *CQ* ii 94 ff., suggested on a consideration of certain phenomena that 'originally, Greek epic was for the most part

limited to 'narrative and similes.' Later, as in the *Odyssey* and what used to be known as 'Odyssean' parts of the *Iliad*, there was 'a preference for all kinds of mimetic work: plain narrative was much reduced, and the simile practically atrophied.' A priori, such a mode of growth seems anything but probable, and the difference remarked between the two Homeric epics is certainly susceptible of a simpler explanation. But all that need be insisted on here is this, that, in any investigation of the difference between the language and the verse of speech and those of narrative, it must be remembered that a prime cause is to be found in the multitude of words and forms which are the exclusive or the almost exclusive property of speech, or which preponderate in it. Other causes there may be, but in tracing difference this one must not be overlooked. A complete exhibition of its effects would be an interesting exercise which some young student may be induced to undertake.

HIATUS IN HOMERIC VERSE

CQ XVII (1923) 13 ff.

THERE is a division of opinion on this subject which is perplexing to the ordinary student of Homer. The extremists on one side hold that hiatus was all but absolutely barred, while the more thoroughgoing among their opponents believe it was freely tolerated. A notable paper by the eminent philologist, Karl Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen* (*zweisilbigen*) *Vokalverbindungen in den indogermanischen Sprachen*, in *Berichte üb d. Verhandlgn. d. königl. sachs. Gesells. d. Wissensch. zu Leipzig, philol.-histor. Klasse*, 1913, 139 sqq., might well, it seems be taken as a starting-point for further investigation.

The kinds of hiatus between words which figure in discussions are well known to be the following: (1) After a final long vowel or diphthong. There are three cases, (*a*) The long vowel or diphthong, being the second or third syllable

of a dactyl, and in thesis[1] is shortened; or (*b*) being the first syllable of a spondee and in arsis remains long; or (*c*) being the second syllable of a spondee and in thesis remains long. (2) After a short final vowel, being the second or third syllable of a dactyl and in thesis.

There is universal agreement that (1) (*a*) is unobjectionable, and almost the same may be said of (1) (*b*). Instances of both abound in the poems. The occurrences of (1) (*c*) are comparatively few, and are generally regarded as improper and requiring correction. It is with (2) that controversy has been mainly concerned. The attitude of most authorities is that such hiatus is bad except at the recognized pauses at 3T and after 4D. Some would add after 1D; and lately Wackernagel, in his *Sprachliche Untersuchgn. zu. Hom.* 52 n, adds after 1T. To him the view that hiatus is admissible between the two shorts of 1D is *nicht diskutabel.*

Hiatus has been more prominent in metrical discussion than other points in the Homeric verse for two reasons. In the first place, it plays a great part in the never ending Digamma Problem. In the second, it has had its share in the Homeric Question. If a passage which a dissector of the poems found inconvenient to his theory of their growth or structure contained a hiatus, that was a blemish which helped to discredit it, especially if the hiatus was not a common one, and could be described as *hässlich.* This was an excess of zeal, but it undoubtedly had the effect of increasing the prejudice against hiatus as a disfigurement of the hexameter.

I cannot extend this paper by writing even a brief history of the matter; but I think I am correct in saying that a moderate view has generally been taken by those who have dealt with it in manuals devoted to the verse. The song began with Spitzner, who, as is well known, affirmed that hiatus was not prohibited *usu uetustissimo*, and this was in substance repeated by Blass in his edition of Kühner's *Grammar*: hiatus was avoided *doch nicht sehr ängstlich.* So Monro, *HG*[2], 357: 'it is unlikely, then, that hiatus was ever absolutely forbidden in epic verse.' See also Seymour, *Language and*

[1] I use the terms 'arsis' and 'thesis' in the popular, but, as it seems, the incorrect, fashion. See Hardie, *Res Metrica*, 262. I also use, in what follows, an upright line to denote the opening or ending of a verse, and two to mark the caesura in the third foot. 1D, 2T, etc. = first dactyl, second trochee, etc.

Verse, 40 sq.; Bickel, *Metrik*, in Gercke and Norden, 568; and Hardie, *op. cit.*, 43, 'hiatus in Homer is fairly frequent; more frequent than in later Greek epic.' Professor Clapp, in his edition of *T-Ω*, finds more than 2000 occurrences of hiatus of all kinds in those six books. After eliminating more than 400 of these in deference mainly to *F*, or the remains of an original but faded *F*, he enumerates only 45 of the remainder which are objectionable; and even for a number of these there is something to be said.

The paper by Brugmann mentioned above is based on materials from Latin and other Indo-European languages as well as Greek, and is directed against the more popular view. He quotes, evidently as an astonishing pronouncement, van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium*, 81: *neque criticus, cui sint aures* (!), *aequo animo tulerit hiatus quales sunt* ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ, τὸ ἐμόν; condemns it as the outcome of prejudice combined with unseasonable athetizing, and lays down the rule that, if a passage in the traditional text containing a hiatus is not to be expunged on other grounds, the hiatus is to be accepted, even if it is not at a caesura and so to be classed as *legitimus*. The idea that hiatus was something bad in itself, 'like stammering or stuttering,' grew up among *den schulmeisternden Grammatikern und Rhetoren* at an early date, and has persisted till now; but that is declared to be a wrong standpoint from which to treat hiatus. A review of the paper in *B ph W* of June 19th, 1915, sketches the contents.

Wecklein in his *Textkritische Studien zur Odyssee*, (1915) 1 sqq., approves Brugmann's conclusions, and then proceeds to restore hiatus in a large number of passages in the *Odyssey*, by showing that it has been cured in the original text by the insertion of particles which can be seen to be superfluous or meaningless. The paper embodies a revulsion against the belief as to hiatus that has been favoured by many authorities on the Homeric language and verse.

For a work in which the views as to hiatus are as different from Wecklein's as it is possible for them to be, I may refer to Mr. Agar's *Homerica*. The author's attitude to hiatus is not explicitly stated, but I gather that he admits it only to this extent—that a long vowel or diphthong in thesis suffers correption before a following initial vowel, and in certain cases may remain long in arsis. It seems from many refer-

ences that he rejects the doctrine of *hiatus licitus* after a short vowel at the pauses after 3T or 4D, but he appears to regard that doctrine as including the case of a long final vowel or diphthong in arsis remaining long before a following vowel, when the occurrence is in either of those two positions in the verse. For example, he says that the hiatus in the second foot in ἐκ τοῦ δὴ Ὀδυσῆα, and that in the fourth foot in οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει, are 'not defended by any theory of legitimacy.' But the general view admits such hiatus in any foot. Also he seems to draw a metrical distinction between certain final diphthongs and others, while other authorities merely note that hiatus is more frequent after some diphthongs than after others. Thus in ξ 164, | ἐνθάδ' ἀτιμάζῃ (*vulg.* ἀτιμάζει) is required 'by the laws of metre,' and | ὤλεσαν ἥματι τῷ ὅτε is allowed, but not ὤλεσαν ἀθάνατοι ὅτε. He even seems to distinguish—unless this is an oversight—between ψυχὴ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο| and γαμέω Ἀγ. Ἀτρ.|. Further, as on τ 231, he objects to hiatus after final υ. And, lastly, he differs from many in this, that while they hold that the late meddlers with the text expunged hiatus—to them objectionable—by inserting particles, he holds that these trespassers had 'a less keen sense of metre,' and deliberately altered the wording so as to leave hiatus, as in β 430, by changing |δησάμενοι δ' ἄρα πάντα to |δησάμενοι δ' ἄρα ὅπλα. And he emends freely accordingly, though, it must be said, with great care to give his reasons in full. And on the whole it seems that Mr. Agar's view differs widely from what may be said to be the prevailing one—see reviews in *W klPh* 1908, 892, and *CQ* iii 225—and a full and connected statement of his attitude would be welcome and helpful.

In his *Enchiridium* and his edition of the two poems van Leeuwen on the whole adheres to the general view of hiatus, but emends where he can by restoring forms and terminations which he considers, and which undoubtedly are, the more ancient, though it is impossible to deny that the later forms were known to the poet. He has, however, to leave many occurrences with the mere note *subest uitium*. In a handbook covering the whole field of the epic language it was impossible for him to give reasons in detail for every emendation, but one is often left to wonder how the cor-

ruption of an original to a combination of words involving hiatus could have taken place. For example, he restores in the opening of a verse αὐτὰρ ὅς for the quite common αὐτὰρ ὁ followed by an initial vowel in arsis.

The extremists on the two sides cannot both be right. It is not for me to attempt *componere litem*, but having devoted much time to the collection for my own use of statistics of the digamma and metrical matters, I venture to offer a few remarks from the point of view of the merely interested student of the language and verse.

It may be admitted at once that the poet had no love for hiatus in itself. He would feel the awkwardness of some of those συγκρούσεις φωνηέντων, those *uocalium concursiones* which were banned by later writers in a more learned age. We find passages in which a word or a phrase beginning with a consonant is used πρὸς βύσιν χασμωδίας instead of a more common alternative with a vowel; but the indications are scanty. Recourse must be had to other considerations if we are to ascertain just how far the poet disliked and avoided the disagreeable conjunction.

And in the first place it is hard for the ordinary reader to believe that Homer had a strong prejudice against hiatus, seeing that the language, as the philologists tell us, was itself making hiatus constantly by the elimination of *F*, σ and *yod* between two vowels inside words, where practically no break in the pronunciation is possible. The occurrence of two vowels in hiatus is of course frequent, but we often find three, and even four, vowels in Homeric forms—ἰχθυόεντα, λιλαίεαι, ἁλιαέες, ὀίεαι, ἀίοιεν, and if we are to follow van Leeuwen and others, we must restore such really uncouth forms as Ἡρακλεείη, θειόεται, ἀδελφεόο. It is hard to believe that a poet with contraction available would suffer such forms gladly, or that he would prefer | ζώγρεε, Ἀτρέος υἷε and τὰς τε τρέει ἐσσυμένος περ to the readings of our text with ζώγρει and τρεῖ. He would never surely, if hiatus were as unbearable as some think, have given us such flagrant concursiones as || Νηληΐῳ υἱι, | ἢ ἐὺ ἠέ, or ἢ ἰῷ ἢ ἔγχει᾽ ὀξυόεντι. Between words there is always a break, however short, which lightens the difficulty caused by the succession of vowels, and, if the break can be made long enough, all unpleasantness from the juxtaposition can

be avoided. In these days we are seduced by the charm and easy flow of the hexameter into reading it rapidly; but the authorities, as Jebb (*Oed. Tyr.*, p. xciv) and Hardie (*op. cit.* 39; *cf.* 36 n. and 97 on trimeters), tell us that ancient verse was declaimed more slowly than we tend to deliver it. The Greek epic was composed to be read or sung aloud, and in such recitation the Greeks were careful to pronounce each word separately, so that there should be no possible misconception by the hearer. Athenian ears at least were *teretes et religiosae* (Cicero, *Orat.* 9, 27, quoted by A. Müller, *Lehrbuch. d. griechn. Bühnenaltertümer*, 194 n.; and cf. Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, 308, and Merry on *Ranae*, 303). Oehmichen, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* v 3, 295, says *jeder Buchstabe jede Silbe, jedes Wort genau gesprochen werden musste, und die Pause und die Tonhöhe sich dem Satzbau sorgsam anzuschliessen hatten.* The editors of Aristophanes give us amusing confirmation of this in their stories of slips over such combinations as γαλήν' ὁρῶ, ὁ νοσῶν, ἀπὸ νοῦ, and τήνδε μοῦσαν εἰσάγων (!); and it is self-evident that care must have been taken to pronounce differently two collocations of the same letters intended to produce different words and sense, such as δὲ μεγαθύμῳ and δὲ μέγα θυμῷ, πρίν γ' ἔτι and πρίν γέ τι, μελανόστου and μέλανος τοῦ, ἀμυνέμεν and ἄμυνε μέν and even οὐδ' ἐνόησε and οὐδὲ νόησε or μ' ἐσάωσε and με σάωσε. ἔκλυε would not be pronounced the same if from κλύω as from ἐκλύω, and the first syllable must have been different in ἐσύλευον and ἐσέρχεται. Eustathius, who seems to have no inkling of principal pauses in the hexameter, notes the need ἑλλόγου διαστολῆς or ὑποδιαστολῆς in such combinations as πάρος γε||νεῶν or after γε in εἰ δέ που Αἴαντός γε βοὴν ἀγαθοῖο πυθοίμην. *Cf.* L. Friedländer's *Nicanor ΠΕΡΙ ΙΑΙΑΚΗΣ ΣΤΙΓΜΗΣ*, 14 sq., on φεύγεις μετὰ νῶτα βαλών etc. On the length and effect of pauses see *ibid. Epimetrum* iii.

There can be no difficulty with hiatus if the pause between the two words is sufficiently marked, and that there were sufficiently long pauses after 3T and 4D has been generally admitted. But there must have been subordinate pauses, or metrical breaks, in addition to those styled 'principal.' The latter give us the general frame of the hexameter—as van Leeuwen says, *Ench.* 51, of the divisions thus formed, *tria haec membra dedit natura*—while the former show exactly

how the particular line is to be read. It seems to me likely enough that epic practice recognized a possible metrical break at every trochaic caesura. A break of some kind there must be, as there is between every two words, but at the trochee there might be something more. It is not easy to produce a break between the two shorts of a dactyl. An effort is required, and that effort, I suggest, is seen in an increase of stress on the long syllable of the dactyl. Compare such doublets as *ἀντιθέου* and *ἀντὶ θεοῦ*, *ληγέμεναι* and *λῆγε μένος* or *|κέκλετο δ' ἀμφιπόλοισι* and *|εἶ δ' ἄγετ' ἀμφὶ πόλιν*. To take the last instance, I think it will be found that there is more stress on the syllable *ἀμφ-* in *ἀμφὶ πόλιν* than on the same in *ἀμφιπόλοισι*, just because of the effort, in pronouncing the former, to keep the final and initial syllables, being the two shorts of a dactyl, apart. Such a break and the effort to emphasize the separation may be taken as helping the voice over hiatus.

There are other ways in which breaks necessary to the proper reading of a line may be observed. The sense, as indicated in modern editions by marks of punctuation, is a guide, and so is what the Germans call a *Wortkomplex* or *Wortgebilde*, and Dr. Leaf, *Iliad*, Vol. ii 638, 'a syntactical unit.' The leaners, backward and forward, are very important in this connexion, as also participles and relatives and participial and relative clauses, with vocatives, interjections, and the like. And the effect of all such indications is confirmed by observation of the assonances, numerous and various, in the Homeric verse, especially those in which sibilants are concerned. It reconciles us to the possibility of a break after 1T when we find sequences such as *|Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον* or *|πατρὸς ὃς ἐν* (*cf.* *|ζεύξαθ' ὑφ' ἅρματα*), or of one even so late in the verse as after 5T, when we read *χεῖρας ἐς ἀμάς|* or *πομπῆες ἔσονται|*. *ἔκτοσθε θαλάσσης* and the like may be compared. To read such expressions continuously would be to introduce intolerable unpleasantness. But the subject of pauses and breaks is a large one, and would require treatment in a sepraate paper.

In regard to hiatus after a final short vowel, I think a distinction may be urged according as the short is the first or second short syllable of a dactyl. To van Leeuwen, for instance, both are in exactly the same case. To him *|δεινὸν ὃ*

οὐ, | νῶϊ δὲ ἔνδον, and ἀστέρα ἦκε || are as objectionable as μηδὲ ἔα or ἠδὲ ἔφασκεν. But surely, in the former set of cases, as the dactyl must be followed by a syllable beginning with a long vowel or a diphthong or a short vowel long by position, the effort necessary for the stress on the initial long syllable is sufficient to remove any unpleasantness. German treatises on metric often refer to this effect of the *expiratorische Kraft* brought into play by the ictus, though I have not observed it used as I now suggest. Compare Hardie, *op. cit.* 43. Hiatus between a long and a short syllable is there said to be easier than between two of the same quantity. I think the same may be claimed for hiatus between a short and a long, and that all instances of hiatus after a dactyl should be excluded from discussion. I have counted 361 such occurrences in the poems, including those left by elision, as against 558 after the trochee.

Controversy would then be limited to hiatus after the trochee and after the second long syllable of a spondee. In regard to the former another point may be noted—that is, whether it is right to treat all the short vowels as of the same quality, and all the conjunctions of two of them in hiatus between words as on the same footing. Most authorities admit such hiatus after ι and υ whatever the following vowel, and after ο when it ends a word that does not admit elision; but it is a question if this goes far enough. There are other sequences of vowels in hiatus which, to the modern ear at least, seem harmless enough, and would appear from the statistics to have been less objectionable than others to the poet. The sequence -α ε- as in καί ῥα ἔπειτα| is commonest of all. But to pursue the point further would require detailed figures and a reference to different qualities of the short vowels as given, for example, by Blass in his edition of Kühner and in his *Aussprache des Griechischen*, but I doubt if the materials would give much result. The question in fact is one for the experts in phonetics. All that is urged here is that it may be worthy of more consideration than it has received.

As for hiatus after the second syllable of a spondee, this has had varying treatment. Van Leeuwen, *Ench.* 82 sqq., treats all such occurrences as bad, and emends as many as he can. In regard to a considerable number it may be allowed that

his emendations are simple and reasonable corrections, but others involve what appears to be arbitrary alteration of the order of words, and some, of course, resist change. *Cf.* Leaf, *loc. cit.* 639. Monro, *HG*[2] 356, allows them to stand, remarking that in a large proportion, 'the hiatus coincides with a division either in the sense or the rhythm' (*cf. Ench.* 84, *paullisper sistitur uox canentis*), and a list of them shows that this is so. In fact, they can be grouped in three or four classes, a considerable number being concerned with ἤ or ἦ.

The reason usually given for objecting to hiatus of this kind is that a long vowel or diphthong before a following vowel is shortened; it is considered enough to quote *uocalis ante uocalem corripitur*. But that, of course, is when the long is the first or second syllable of a dactyl; and how are we to argue from that to the second syllable of a spondee? There is nothing essentially disagreeable to the ear in this kind of hiatus, but from the fact that the occurrences, which are notably few in number, only 157, can be classified as stated above, it may perhaps be inferred that these groups were excepted from a ban against such hiatus which was really part of the epic metrical law or practice. However, when those instances which can be corrected *omnium consensu* are excluded, those that remain are a residuum which is really not more serious than the excusable departures from Wernicke's Law in regard to the Bucolic Diaeresis, for which see Leaf's Appendix already referred to.

In regard to hiatus between two shorts, where the first has been left by elision, as μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς or μένε' ἀνδρῶν, I state what appears to be a generally accepted view in the words of Professor Clapp, *op. cit.* 430: 'Where one vowel has already been elided from the first word, the two words are so closely bound together that the hiatus is not felt,' and it is condoned. This seems to assume that there is no unpleasantness in hiatus inside a word, and to disregard the view of other authorities, as Hardie, *op. cit.* 39, that it is incredible that the elided vowel disappeared in pronunciation, though Monro, *HG* 349, only says it can hardly be determined whether it was entirely silent or only slurred over.[1] But, apart from this, there seems to be something to

[1] If it was not entirely silent, it is not easy to account for the aspiration of the final consonant in cases like πάνθ' ἁλός.

be said for the view that the vowels are kept distinct. It might be easy enough to accept ||δύ' ἀνέρε as practically one word, but are we to disregard a principal pause and say ἐντεαπο for ἔντε' ||ἀπὸ, and to neglect sense and punctuation and read |χοίρε' ἀτάρ or ὀστέ' 'Αχιλλεῦ| without a break between the two words? And are the two words closely bound together when the elision leaves a final consonant? If not, why not? And where is the difference? If they are, we must read jumbles like θεραπονταχιληος and ταμονθαπαλης, instead of enunciating each word clearly.

I have marked in the poems 440 occurrences of the hiatus after a vowel left by elision. Of these 139 are after the second short of a dactyl, and consequently, as I have suggested above, unobjectionable, and 301 after the first, and the distribution of the latter seems worth noticing. Of the 301, 187 are after 5T and 50 after 1T. There are only 26 after 2T and 38 at 3T, where—that is in the third foot—elision is, according to some authorities, disliked. The figures may perhaps be held to confirm the view that a metrical break was allowable after 1T and 5T.

As regards the break after 1T I say no more at present. It seems to come into line with other liberties which have often been noted in the first foot as in the second. But I venture to say a word for that after 5T, seeing that it comes so very late in the verse. The possibility was not without recognition by the ancient metricians. In the edition of Nicanor already quoted I find (p. 23) on κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν 'Αχαιῶν the note, δύναται βραχὺ διαστέλλεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ εὐρύν. Again, statistics show that ∪ – – was a favourite verse-ending. The point is referred to, but not adequately dealt with, in *Ench.* 55, note c. I find that of the 2,407 lines in the first and last books of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey* no fewer than 1,051, or not far off one-half, end with a word or syntactical unit of this value. And there is this amount of reason discernible why this ending should be preferred, that it avoids a conclusion of the line consisting of two dactyl words and a spondee, as λίπετ' αὐτόθι νηλέϊ δεσμῷ or ἴν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη. That is, if read carelessly, a poor, monotonous hemistich, and monotony in the hexameter, already hampered by the sameness entailed by the division in the third foot of all but a few lines in the poems, must be avoided

at all costs. Hemistichs like the two examples given above do occur, but can generally be read without offence by giving due regard to syntactical connexion. Similar care is taken with a succession of anapaest words or combinations, *οὐτάμεναι μεμαώς, ὁ δέ μιν φθάμενος ἔλασεν σῦς*, or of amphibrach words, *τοξοφόρῳ περ ἐούσῃ, ἐπεί σε λέοντα γυναιξί*. The danger from these latter may give the key to the ban against the fourth trochee, but I cannot go further into the matter here. I will only add in regard to the ending ⏑ – – that it is of some interest to see what precedes it. If that is a trochee word we have the break after 4D, and it is generally arranged that the rest of the line is a syntactical unit, as *δουρὶ φαεινῷ, ὅσσε κάλυψε*, and there is nothing objectionable. But counting—for *Δ*—all other words or syntactical units preceding final ⏑ – –, I find that the average length of such is more than six morae, a length which seems to justify some small breathing-space before the final word.

Hiatus has, of course, given the emendators great opportunities, and few occurrences of the supposed blemish have escaped attention. But Homeric emendation has been practised to excess, as seems to have been already remarked in ancient days, *οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐνέλιπον οἱ τὰς λέξεις καινοτομοῦντες*, Eustath, on *Φ* 26. To some of the moderns it became a sort of pastime, even a craze, with, as it were, the motto *μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ* (Jebb on Nauck, *Antigone*, 885). It is an easy game, if one be bold enough, with poems in which great richness of vocabulary and forms, synonyms of the same metrical value, and interchangeability of phraseology are conspicuous features. *Standum codicibus* is little regarded. And so for the principles which have been laid down in, for instance, the *CGS*, to regulate changes of classical texts, and especially the rule that some reasonable cause for the corruption should be suggested. But quite recently doubt has been thrown on the initial assumption that there was once unlimited power to alter the wording of the poems. See Dr. Grenfell on the mediaeval scribes in *JHS* xxxviii *Proceedings*, p. xliv. See also *ibid.*, xxxix 3, where we are told by Sir F. G. Kenyon that 'modern critics (if the papyri are to be trusted) are seldom felicitous in the detection and emendation of corruptions, except in the smallest and most obvious cases.'

The emendations to get rid of hiatus involve a question of their own, which has already been referred to above. What was the attitude towards it of late meddlers? Did they object to it? If so, how are we to account for the instances in which they actually caused it? Why was Bentley's ἴσ' ὀρέεσσι | changed to ἴσα ὄρεσσι, or ἐπεχεύατ' ἄρ' ὕλην | to ἐπεχεύατο ὕλην? Or did they tolerate it? Then whence the, as some hold, unmeaning particles inserted? The point seems to require careful consideration and final disposal by those competent to deal with it.

PROFESSOR BOLLING ON THE HOMERIC ABSTRACTA, ETC.

CP XVIII (1923)

In the number of this Journal for July, 1923, Professor Bolling reviews Meister's new work, *Die homerische Kunstsprache*. As I have the honour of being mentioned twice in the paper, I should be glad if the Editor would allow me a few remarks on its contents.

The Professor's object in the pages (269 ff.) with which I am concerned is, as we should expect, to find material in Meister's book to support his own well-known view of the origin of the Homeric poems. He informs us that he is 'of those who have hoped that the study of Homeric language would contribute decisively to the solution of the Homeric question,' but Meister assures him 'that this hope is doomed to disappointment.' But this, Professor Bolling would have us believe, is because 'the assurance presupposes the correctness of Wilamowitz's analysis of the Iliad,' and further on he asserts that 'Meister's statement (p. 246) that he has been able to find no difference in language between the songs of the Iliad means in reality no difference which will support Wilamowitz' analysis.' Anyone can satisfy himself as to the correctness of this understanding of Meister's pages 245-48. I for one cannot accept it. Meister does not confine himself to the 'songs of the Iliad,' his statement as

to the inutility of linguistic tests is in general terms, and I do not think Wilamowitz or his analysis is even mentioned in the pages quoted. Meister is quite clear that linguistic tests have so far produced no result, and that of course was bad hearing for the Professor.

This was discouraging at the outset, but he has done his best in spite of it to find support for his own views by considering various Homeric forms and usages. Most of the discussions are on the old familiar lines. Their chief basis is the assumption that certain parts of the poems are early and others late. Sometimes it is the purely personal view—'*strata* I should consider late,' or what 'I (with Robert and Bechtel) regard as decidedly late.' The 'oldest parts' of a book or tract can be separated from the rest, 'the oldest separate lays' are known, and so on. Except for the fact that the conclusions stated may impress those who have not time to test them for themselves, there would be little necessity for referring to them. I will, however, give here the results of a test I have made on one point. I have selected it because it is, I think, a quite new contribution by Professor Bolling to the stock-in-trade of the professional dissector of the poems.

It relates to ἦσαν and ἔσαν. 'It is clear that ἔσαν has gained greatly in the Odyssey,' for, including compounds, there are 47 occurrences of ἦσαν in the *Iliad* and 38 of ἔσαν, and in the *Odyssey* 24 of ἦσαν to 32 of ἔσαν. Now I find to my astonishment, on drawing out the occurrences, that of the 47 of ἦσαν in the *Iliad* no fewer than twelve are in the recurring formula, οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν κ.τ.λ. But no one will think of accepting repetitions of a line as so many separate occurrences.[1] And the line mentioned is not the only case of repetition in the 47 lines from the *Iliad*. There are *five* others. There are also some in the other three totals quoted above from the review, and I find that when groups of repetitions—excluding hemistichs, though I might well include them—are treated as single occurrences, the figures are, for the *Iliad*, ἦσαν, 32, and ἔσαν 35, and in the *Odyssey*, ἦσαν 23, and ἔσαν, 28. Allowing for the difference in length of the two poems these totals become, *Iliad*, 32 and

[1]In *CP* xvi 195 ff. I marked the same defect in Professor Bolling's πόθος-ποθή theory.

35, *Odyssey*, 31 and 27. Anything that can be argued against ἔσαν on these figures may be allowed without a qualm.

The numbers are certainly small enough to argue on. But Professor Bolling goes further and seeks to show for different ages according to Robert's analysis, that the difference between ἦσαν and ἔσαν is traceable everywhere. Of course the figures become ridiculously small. In only one case are they big enough to be worth considering; 'in Robert's third *Iliad* or later' there are 32 occurrences of ἔσαν to 30 of ἦσαν. I do not stop to inquire whether these totals include any repetitions, but will anyone find any significance in them as they stand? Will anyone be impressed by the fact that in the few lines of the 'Köon Episode' there is one occurrence of ἦσαν—it is in the formula οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδόν κιτ.λ—and none of ἔσαν? Again, 'the oldest separate lays, the *Πάριδος καὶ Μενελάου μονομαχία* and the *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, have only ἦσαν'—5 times, but it is not stated that four of the five are in that same old formula. Such figures deserve no attention. I would only add that help from emendation is not disdained. '*A* 321 if not interpolated may be read *τώ F' ἦσαν*,' *May* be read! Is there any reason for disturbing the text? That the change gives 'elision as in *βούλομ' ἐγώ*' is no reason. And if emendation is to be allowed in one case, where are we to stop? I know professional Homeric emendators who would emend with ease any case of ἦσαν or ἔσαν submitted to them.

Now for the two mentions in the review of my humble self. Meister, in the pages of his book already quoted, has referred with some approval to papers written by the late Dr. Rothe, Professor Scott, and myself to prove that certain linguistic criteria had failed as tests of late and early. This lapse on the part of a Homeric scholar has of course distressed Professor Bolling very much, and he laments that 'a man of Meister's calibre' should have allowed (men of no calibre like) 'Shewan and Scott to talk him into the belief that the difference between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*' (in regard to the abstracts in *-οσυνη -ιη -τυς*) is *illusorisch*.'[1] This is the only one of the criteria mentioned by Meister that the Professor deals with, and he selects it because he has written much

[1] I think Meister's words have not been rightly understood. He is not using the word himself, but only quoting Professor Scott.

about it elsewhere, and fancies he has scored a victory over Professor Scott in regard to it. Let us see what ground can be given for our belief, and whether others can be 'talked into it.'

To Professor Bolling it is 'merely a simple problem in arithmetic to determine whether the increase [of these *abstracta* in the *Odyssey*] is zero or 32 per cent.' Certainly that is so, but, when you have made your calculation and got your excess, two important factors remain to be considered. First, in which poem does the subject-matter, or rather, do the subject-matters, lead one to expect the freer use of abstract nouns? The question needs only to be asked. No one who has thought about these nouns can have omitted this consideration. The second and much more important, and indeed decisive, point is this. Are abstract nouns more abundant in speech or in narrative? I think anyone would say offhand, in speech, and he would be right. As a test, I have counted the occurrences of the first twenty on my list of these *abstracta* extracted from Gehring, and I find they occur in the poems 58 times, 45 times in speech, and only 13 times in narrative. And in which poem is there the greater amount of speech relatively to narrative? In the *Odyssey* very decidedly. If the totals and proportions are worked out, it will be found that there are three lines of speech in the *Odyssey* to two in the *Iliad*. When that is taken into consideration, the excess obtained by Professor Bolling on mere totals vanishes. I do not suppose these considerations were present to Meister's mind, but, whether or not, he—or Professor Scott—could not have used a happier description. The difference between the two poems in regard to these nouns is absolutely *illusorisch*.

The other matter is 'the curious semantic difference between *ποθή* in the *Iliad* and *πόθος*, *ποθή* in the *Odyssey*,' which Professor Bolling announced a year or two ago with no uncertain voice. On this point I replied to his paper (*CP* xv 387 ff.) in *CP* xvi 195 ff. In the review of Meister there is nothing new on the subject; the Professor only refers to it to declare that his view 'holds good in spite of Shewan.' *αὐτὸς ἔφα*, and the matter is *chose jugée*. So be it. But I would observe that the reader is left to think that I alone made a protest, and that no scholar of calibre noticed the

paper. On the contrary, an authority of standing, Professor Radin, made a much stronger reply in *CJ* xvi 494 ff., which I would beg anyone interested in the matter to read. And if the Professor should ever deign to admit that the matter is still open to argument, he must reckon with that reply. A simple *ignoro, ignorabo*, will not do.

THE DIGAMMA AND 'POSITION'

CJ XXIII (1927)

THERE appear to be in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* some 224 instances in which *F* fails to make position, as ἢ ἵνα ὕβριν *Fίδῃ*, μελιηδέος *Foίνου*, ἧς περ *Fάνασσες*. They are distributed thus among the three consonants final in Greek: *F* after final ν, 129; after ς, 80; after ρ, 15.

The consonant ν is readily modified in composition— ἔμπεσε, ἐγκονέουσαι, ἐμμενές, ἄλλεγον. Was there any such change in similar contacts—of final and initial consonants—in the Homeric hexameter? How did bard or rhapsode pronounce the ν's in the lines, νῦν μὲν παύσωμεν πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτῆτα, or αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν? He surely found them very awkward lines if he gave final ν its natural sound. The change which is admitted in compound words would make them much more easy to declaim—αὐέρυσαμ μὲμ πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαγ καὶ ἔδειραν. We even have the change made in the text, as in ἄμ πέτρησι. Perhaps then also χερμάδιολ λάβε and ἐμ πελάγεσσι. Applying this to the case of final ν and initial *F*, we should have in familiar instances in the first *Iliad*, ὑβριFFίδῃ, ἀντιοFFείπῃ, κρηγυοFFεῖπας. And as by Homeric days *FF* had already been replaced in some words by a simple υ—αὐερύω for *ἀFFερύω* (by assimilation from *ἀνFερύω*), and αὐίαχος, as explained by some, for *ἀFFίαχος* by the same process—and in others was no doubt represented by a single *F* on its way to become υ, there would be no difficulty in pronouncing such collocations, and no neglect of *F*. Even εἰσανιδών may be for εἰσανιδών through *εἰσαFFιδών*.

The same remarks apply to final *s*, if ἐΰαδε is for ἔ*FF*αδε (ἔσ*F*αχε), and if for ἴαχε should be read with Schulze ἐΰαχε (ἔσ*F*αχε, ἔ*FF*αχε). But that initial σ*F* had already reached the stage of '*F* is proved by the fact that in some cases it had passed it and was represented by the simple rough breathing. Might it not also do so when *s* was final in one word and *F* initial in the following one? If it did, the *s* cases present as little difficulty as the *ν* cases—ἦδέο 'Φοίνου, μένο 'Φισοφαρίζειν. We might compare the cases in which initial ζ fails to make position, as Ζάκυνθος, Ζέλεια. In δαφοινός and δάσκιος, for ζα-, the σ has vanished entirely (Blass, *Aussprache*[3], 116).

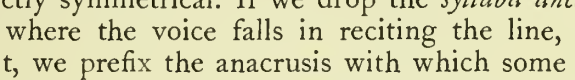
There remain the 15 cases of final *ρ*. They are, with the exception of 5 occurrences of νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι (-ηαι once), in which Agar (*Homerica*, 36 f.) argues for ἀρέσθαι (for the significance of which see De Witt in *CP* iii 35), and of one of ὑπέρ, where there is a *v.l.* διά, all cases in which γάρ or περ appears. These have mostly been amended generally to the advantage of the sense, by substituting δέ, τι, or the like, the insertion of a word ending with a consonant being explained by the desire to cure apparent hiatus. But let them stand. *ρ* is said to be of all consonants nearest to the vowels, and to have δύναμιν φωνήεντος. If there be ground for supposing that old Ionic could practically dispense with final *ρ*, as the Englishman does in contradistinction to his Dorian brother of the North, these cases too would hardly be considered neglects of *F*, and the conclusion would be that the whole class of neglects now under consideration has nothing in it detrimental to the Homeric metre. If this view could be accepted, much striving after emendation would be rendered nugatory.

A high authority to whom this paper was submitted wrote, 'but would not -R presumably share the fate of -N, e.g. Latin *pellicio* from *per-*, *illicio* from *in-*? And why not *-s* too? Your treatment of the *-s* examples, however, has much in its favour.'

TRITOTROCHAICS

CJ XXIII (1927)

THE tritotrochaic hexameter is divided by the caesura into two unequal parts, and it has come as a surprise to me—though doubtless it has been observed before—that these two parts can be, with slight alteration, made not only equal but perfectly symmetrical. If we drop the *syllaba anceps* at the end, where the voice falls in reciting the line, or if, keeping it, we prefix the anacrusis with which some think the first of the two elements from which the hexameter was constructed formerly began, we get a line of the form, choriambus—third paeon—second paeon (third paeon reversed)—choriambus:



There are, I believe, only six such lines in Homer consisting of just four words. As an instance:

Z 204: *μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε κυδαλίμοισι.*

The others are *Π* 865, *κ* 88, *ο* 41 =*π* 329, and *ω* 198. In these we have the perfection of rhythm. To borrow from Homer himself:

μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιτο
ὅς τάδε κάλ' ἐξάμετρα[1] *ἐῇ ἐγκάτθετο τέχνῃ.*

There are a number of other such four-word lines with a molossus instead of the choriambus, initial or final, or both, as:

A 189: *στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν.*

When we go on to instances in which instead of one word there is a *Wortcomplex* or 'syntactical unit,' the list is greatly enlarged. The deviation from the perfect pattern may be slight, as in

ρ 542: *σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια*, or
Z 401: *Ἑκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν, ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῷ*,

[1]For this terrible 3rd paeon I can only say with the old epigram, *οὐ γάρ πως ἦν τοὔνομ' ἐφαρμόζειν ἑξαμέτρῳ.*

but the number of words may be much increased, the frame of the verse remaining the same, as in

I 534: *Χωσαμένη ὅ οἱ οὔ τι θαλύσια γουνῷ ἀλωῆς,* or
π 470: *ἄλλο δέ τοι τό γε οἶδα · τὸ γὰρ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.*

Some formulas take the form, as the familiar lines beginning *ὣδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι . . ., χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξε . . ., Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος . . .*, and lists of names, as

M 140: *Ἀσιάδην τ' Ἀδάμαντα Θόωνά τε Οἰνόμαόν τε*

(cf. *P* 218), and lines composed wholly, or nearly so, of vocatives in the opening of an address, as:

N 249: *Μηριόνη, Μόλου υἱέ, πόδας ταχύ, φίλταθ' ἑταίρων,*
θ 335: *Ἑρμεία, Διὸς υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων.*

Cf. *O* 128 and *P* 12 = δ 156.

Lines of the kind are plentiful. In the *Iliad* they are 1 in a little over 14, in the *Odyssey*, 1 in a little under 15. For Hesiod the figures are not very different—*Theogony*, about 1 in 15 (more in the earlier part, fewer in the latter), *Erga*, about 1 in 20, *Aspis*, about 1 in 16. In later epic there is a change—for the first book of the *Argonautica*, about 1 in 10, for that of the *Posthomerica*, about 1 in 7½. The figures are on a rough count, and enumerators would differ in their division of lines and in regard to the resolution of diphthongs, but the numbers no doubt reflect approximately the varying practice of the authors named.

The number of such lines will be the less surprising when one observes how many little phrases and epithets and other words take the form of the second or third paeon—*θέμις ἐστί, κατὰ χθόνα, ἀμύμονα, τανύπεπλος, διάκτορος, Μενέλαος, Γερήνιος*, etc., etc.

The choriambus-word is mostly found early in the verse, that is with the 1st or 2nd ictus syllable as its initial syllable. In each of these the number of occurrences is about the same as in the other three places together, even including the choriambus extended by the *syllaba anceps*, which is not often a separate word—as a fact about thrice in 200 lines.

The third-paeon-word is most frequent after the 2nd ictus. In *A* and *α* there are 196 instances. After the 5th there are

133, after the 4th, 79, after the 1st, only 7. It cannot come after the 3rd, as that would give a 4th trochee. The second-paeon-word can occur only after the 1st trochee, where it is rare—only 4 instances in *A* and α—and after the 3rd, where the occurrences number 241.

I have failed to discover for the penthemimeral line any such symmetrical division as that suggested above for the tritotrochaic.

Did the fact that the anacrusis might have the effect of converting a dactylic line into six amphibrachs tend to its rejection? The monotony would be intolerable.

Was the division into four κῶλα perchance the proper standard way of reciting a hexameter or singing it to a musical accompaniment? It seems to me that if due attention is paid to leaners and syntactical units, Homer's verses, with very few exceptions, can and ought to be read as τετράκωλοι. Of course there is infinite variety in the length of the κῶλον. It may be a monosyllable, it may consist of two feet.[1]

ENCLITICS

CJ XXIII (1928)

Have the Homeric enclitics ever had separate consideration? There is a chapter in Lehrs's *QE*, entitled *Veterum Praecepta de Enclisi*, and they are of course included in the grammars and in works on Greek accentuation, but on the same terms as enclitics in later Greek. Was usage exactly the same in the two periods? Probably not, one would think. But I merely note here some difficulties I have met in my reading of Homer. I include μέν, δέ, and γάρ, which, though not full enclitics, are certainly backward leaners.

In the first place, whatever we think, and whatever phraseology we employ, about the breaks in the Homeric hexameter, a division of the line into two equal parts is universally barred. But, if the Homeric enclitic coheres with the preceding word, then we have instances of such a divi-

[1]For statistics of all *versus* τετράκωλοι reference must be made to Professor Bassett's exhaustive paper in *CP* xiv 216 ff.

sion, e.g., *K* 453, for which see *HG* 338, where Monro says 'the subject needs more detailed investigation.' Other instances are *Γ* 205 and *σ* 376. Three (involving τις) are *Γ* 220, *δ* 544, and *Ψ* 668, and a seventh is *Ψ* 791. I do not include *A* 179, as some will hold that σὺν νηυσί τε σῇς must be read as a syntactical unit and the line treated as a hephthemimeral. It is noticeable that in all seven instances the enclitic is followed by a verb with which it is in close agreement, and that it is one which, besides being an enclitic, may be used interrogatively at the beginning of a sentence. Was there perchance a dispensation in favour of this class of enclitics, and are we in the seven instances to save the meter by attaching the enclitic to the following verb?

Difficulty is caused by τις in other lines, as *N* 471, *Π* 406, 482, *ξ* 178, 179, 463. In the first of these, ἀλλ' ἔμεν' ὡς ὅτε τις σῦς οὔρεσιν, are we to preserve the metre by making a break between τις and its noun, or to have no break with the result that the line is equally divided? Jebb refers to instances of a similar treatment of τις in Sophocles in his notes on *Antig.* 20, *OC* 280 f., etc.

Φ 347 is interesting: χαίρει δέ μιν ὅς τις ἐθείρῃ. Liddell and Scott give this as a rare instance of χαίρω with the accusative, but editors, van Leeuwen for example, refer μιν to ἐθείρῃ, which can hardly be done without leaving a break after δέ and a fourth trochee to boot. μιν is concerned in a breach of Wernicke's Law, *T* 348.

T 287 is said to be the only case in Homer of a vocative followed by an enclitic, but some write Πάτροκλ' ἐμοί. Friedländer in his work on Nicanor gives *Σ* 333, where, if σευ is enclitic, we have once more a line divided into two equal parts. On this see Leaf on *T* 287.

There is sometimes a concatenation of enclitics, or of enclitics and other backward leaners, which makes one wonder how far the attachment to the preceding word was carried. In an extreme case, *δ* 141 and *χ* 313, were the first five words pronounced as one, like πατροκασιγήτοιο in the same position in another line? On this point reference may be made to Vendryes, *Traité d'Accentuation Grecque*, § 95.

A separate investigation of the enclitics in Homer seems desirable, if it has not already been made. The subject is of the first importance for the verse.

THE DIGAMMA IN HOMERIC CRITICISM

REVUE DES ÉTUDES HOMÉRIQUES, TOME II (1933)

It is proposed to consider how far certain critics have been justified in treating the presence of the digamma in the Homeric text, or its absence, as evidence of the age of a line, a passage or a book. They believe that *F*, strong at the date of the inception of the poems, gradually weakened as these took shape through centuries, till it finally disappeared from Ionic Greek altogether. An early bard, composing when *F* was still vigorous, even *vegetus et florentissimus*, could not neglect the sound. A late bard, making a lay at a time when *F*, if heard at all, was mere *soni umbra*, neglected it as a matter of course; he could not observe in his versification a sound he did not know. So here was a simple criterion by which late work could be distinguished from early.

But *F* is surely not a good basis for a test. It is changeable, movable, elusive. Its vagaries are familiar, and can be studied well in English, which Skeat tells us 'is the only language which has preserved to this day the true sound of the original Indogermanic w', that is, of the digamma. The English w can be modified or even completely changed, as to u, v, f, b; it has been dropped out of words either initially or medially; it can even be inserted inside a word. It is not necessary to give examples, but it is pertinent to add that it is no violent supposition that *F* was as unstable and Protean in early Greek as w was and is in English. Not that we need to depend on supposition. We know for certain that in Homeric Greek medial *F* had often disappeared, and initial *F* also, as before *o*, *ω* or *ου*. Degeneration had already set in, and may have been proceeding for ages. There would be nothing strange in that. We know that *σ* had declined in some words to the mere *spiritus asper*, that the initial combination of *σ* with *F* had done the same, and that yod (*j*) had disappeared altogether. To accept *F* as a basis for argument implies that we have a quite definite knowledge of the sound in Homeric Greek.

But that is what we have not got. The exact status of *F* at the time when these critics suppose the epics began to come into being, is known and can be known to nobody. Decay had certainly begun, but just how far it had gone no one can say. And of course it had not proceeded with uniformity; there was more wear and tear in some combinations with *F*, and in some words, than in others. And this suggests another consideration. Lists of observances and neglects of *F* in the poems show that the great majority of the latter are in respect of words which must have been in constant everyday use. It is true, as Monro observes—using it as an argument for his thesis that observance of *F* is the rule in the poems—that the observances are much more numerous than the neglects. But may this not be due to the poet himself? He might well find it convenient for purposes of his verse, to observe the old, the now antique, pronunciation, while not disdaining at times the current digammaless, or almost digammaless, forms due to the attrition which the language had undergone,

It is easy to find neglects if one may assume that *F* had full consonantal value, but it is surely going far to attribute that to a mere semivowel, and a very volatile one. But in fact the number of neglects that are certain in the poems is far smaller than is generally supposed. (1) Neglects of position, that is, occurrences in which the short vowel of a final syllable (in *ν*, *ρ* or *ς*) remains short in spite of a following supposed initial *F*, were considered in *CJ* xxiii 131 f.[1] They proved to be far from serious. And to what was there said this must be added. There are numerous exceptions in Homer to the rule that a combination of two consonants makes position. Thus *πλ* for example, a consonant and a semivowel, can be excepted. Then why not *νF*, also a consonant and a semivowel, and *Fρ*, a combination of two semivowels? And, as another example, if *θρ* and *δρ*, why not *δF*? The other classes of neglects are (2) the elision of a short final vowel and (3) the correption of a final long vowel or diphthong, in spite of a supposed following initial *F*. Now, when we deduct from the occurrences in these two classes those in which the simplest possible emendation cures the defect, and those in which the *F* exists only in what

[1]See pp. 345 ff. *ante*.

one may call popular belief and is not a certainty—as ἰδρώς, ἕκαστος and the like—the residuum is not great or important. As regards emendation, anyone who has not catalogued the instances for himself will be surprised to hear that the majority of the neglects can be removed by the simple omission of a δέ, a τε, or a γε. These particles are obviously due to scribes or improvers who were imbued with the aversion to hiatus in Homer which was once felt by many modern authorities, and which Karl Brugmann corrected in a well-known paper, for which see *CQ* xvii 13 ff.[1] Time was when a hiatus was as damaging to a line as a neglect of *F*. Some of these authorities were also in error in inferring an initial digamma from the *mere* lengthening of a preceding final short syllable. But such a lengthening before a following initial vowel is quite common in Homer in cases where there is no suspicion of *F*.

Again, there is this difficulty in the estimation of the effect of these neglects. They are said to prove lateness. So of course an observance, and much more so a number of observances, should be counted to a passage for genuineness, that is, as evidence that it is early work. But we find neglects and observances mingled in passages, short or long, which are homogeneous and not reducible to fragments, and the inference of late intrusions by composers innocent of *F* cannot be entertained. Mixed passages of that nature of some length are of course plentiful, but even *short ones* of the kind are not uncommon. As instances, *F* observed and neglected in the same short simile, in the same short speech, in two short speeches parts of the same short conversation, in two consecutive lines, a neglect and an observance in the same line, nay, a neglect and an observance of the same root in the same line.[2] How is one to draw conclusions? The only reasonable view seems to be that *F* was weakly and could readily be disregarded.

For these reasons the method seems a questionable one. But let us assume that it is unimpeachable and test it by results. We ought to find that, in respect of digamma usage, the Dissector's earliest lays will differ *toto coelo* from

[1] See pp. 330 ff. *ante*.

[2] υ 24, 28; η 259, 265; σ 408, 419; γ 7, 8; Ρ 279; Υ 250. Other similar instances could no doubt be found.

his latest. Compare then protozoic *A* and the so called 'Continuation' of the Odyssey, ψ 297 to ω 548, which is denounced as a product of Homeric decadence, to be referred to the 6th or 5th century, a time when *F* was unknown to Ionic literature. The comparison was made in *CP* viii 289 f. There is practically no difference! The digamma is as good, or as bad, in one as in the other. It is amazing. Or take two of the inferior books of the Iliad, *M* and *N*. *M* belongs, according to Leaf, to 'the last strata' of the poem, it has had additions, and different 'versions' are combined in it. For the origin of *N*, the same authority tells us of the 'elements' of which it is composed, of the 'transitional passages' that have been inserted, of the 'joints,' of the 'intervals of confusion,' and lastly of the 'final redaction.' The book is a hotchpotch of bits of poetry composed through ages, and of course, as *F* was gradually weakening all that time, its growing debility must be reflected in the heterogeneous compilation which we now possess. Very much the reverse! Let the Dissector collect and tabulate for himself the digamma phenomena of *M* and *N*, and try to extract ftom them some encouragement for his view of the origin of the books. And other books of the poems will provide as little. And if I mention one other instance, the short episode, Φ 385-513, known as the Theomachy, it is on account of a peculiarity in the conclusion regarding it. Leaf regards it as a vile production. 'To attribute such work to any of the older poets of the Epos is to deny the possibility of any rational criticism in this field.' And yet—it is 'remarkably free from linguistic offences such as violations of the digamma and other signs of late composition.' This is strange indeed, but the explanation is forthcoming at once. 'The author must have had an accurate knowledge of the old epic language.' He was, we are to understand, quite out of sympathy with the old epic tradition, but he 'must have been ' a good linguist, an expert in the old epic language, probably one of Professor Murray's λόγιοι ἄνδρες with a turn for philology. The test is easily excused when it fails.

The digamma test is useless to the Dissector. What of others that he had applied? They were considered in *CP* x 151 ff.[1], the Article, the Prepositions, ἄν and κε, Perfects in

[1]See pp 296 ff., *ante*.

-κα, Dual Forms, and Iteratives and other forms dubbed by some authorities 'Ionisms'—*bien gratuitement* as M. Bréal said—and so on. The tests will not produce the desired results. Now these efforts were numerous and determined. Seeing that they have failed, we are surely entitled to say with some confidence that the language of the poems is one, and from that to draw the further conclusion that they are of one age. And, if that be so, it is but a short step to unity of authorship.

But German analysers continue to dissect the poetry and to assign the pieces to different periods. Yet, very strange to say, none of them ventures to confirm his distribution by the test of language. As every poet has his own 'way,' it would be no difficult task to show that the contributing bards whom these analysers discover have ways of their own, and differ from each other as the Homeric corpus from Hesiod and the Hymns, and as all three differ from Apollonius Rhodius and Quintus Smyrnaeus. They lived in different ages, in different parts of Greece, chose different themes and can hardly have been identical in dialect. Their productions must show, then, peculiarities of language, style and matter which would be patent on close examination. Such a quest might well be decisive, but it is never undertaken. Why not? Wolf was told by a contemporary that he should have begun with the language, but he never acted on the suggestion. Geddes published his *Problem of the Homeric Poems* in 1878, and promised a confirmatory volume on the language, but, though he lived till 1900, it never appeared. In short, it comes to this, that linguistic tests may be employed only to prove heterogeneous, not homogeneous, origin.

Finally, it may be observed that, while many leading archaeologists are content to accept the Homeric corpus as on the whole a genuine and trustworthy record of an age, other inquirers who deal with one aspect or another of Greek prehistory continue, for purposes of argument, to decry certain parts of the poems as later than and of inferior worth to others. As a recent instance, Professor Nilsson, in his *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, p. 12, describes *K* as 'one of the very latest parts' of the poems, and on p. 97 passages in ω as late also. And, p. 14, he holds that 'the

gap between the earliest and the latest elements in Homer comes nearer to a whole millennium than to a half-millennium.' This, although linguistic tests fail to show any appreciable difference between these proscribed books and those composed—in Professor Nilsson's view—say eight hundred years earlier! Arguments based on such premises must, in these latter days, appeal to but a limited circle of students of Homer.

SECTION VI

THE REPETITIONS

Some of the matter and some of my arguments appear more than once in these papers and in Chap. xiv of *L of D* ('The parallel passages'). I am sorry I am not able to condense the whole, but the arguments will bear repetition. It will help to drive home my case against the Repetititionmongers. I call particular attention to p. 391 of the *Ph Q* paper, in case it be said I am flogging a dead horse. Also to the argument from Hesiod and the *Hymns* on pp. 387 f. of the same paper, for I venture to think it is quite worth consideration by some Dissector.

I may mention, for the benefit of anyone studying the question in future, that the references I give in part of the paper on Homer and Tennyson which are not republished here, with others added by the editor, Professor Knapp, some on his own behalf and others communicated by Professor Bassett, constitute a fairly full bibliography of the subject.

The paper on the 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey* from which I give an extract was one of a set of three. The other two, dealing, the one with 'The Language and Verse' and the other with the *Nekyia*, appeared respectively in *CP* viii and ix.

WILAMOWITZ ON Θ[1]

CP VI (1911)

Θ is a book which has had much attention from dissectors of the *Iliad*. It has that on its surface which never fails to

[1] 'Ueber das Θ der Ilias,' *Sitzungsber. d. königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften* (1910), xxi.—This paper is included here as containing a good instance of the manipulation of repetitions.

draw their fire. It does not require a careful reader of Homer to see that many of its lines occur in other parts of the poems. So it is said to be a cento, and late. The style of the lay is held to confirm the conclusion. Dr. Leaf, it is true, though he makes the most of the 'want of originality,' finds that Θ displays 'great spirit and movement,' so that one is tempted to ask if spirited poetry was ever in such humour made. It is a feat for a centoist to be proud of. But others mark a reprehensible abruptness in the composition. Wilamowitz shows that τὸ κόλον is as conspicuous in it as in the μάχη which gives the canto its name. The objection seems to be overdone. There is what may appear to be abruptness; there are 'excursions and alarms.' But if ever Homer was justified in introducing these, it was at the point in his story when Zeus at length betakes himself to Ida, with a grim determination to make the Achaeans pay for Agamemnon's insult to Thetis' son. The day must go against them; but surely we need not be surprised that they and their Olympic allies do not submit to this entirely new experience without desperate attempts to avert defeat. The poet does not forget that there are deities in Olympus who do not see eye to eye with Zeus, and other champions of the Achaean cause besides Achilles. With true Achaean sympathy he even makes Zeus relent toward Agamemnon for a moment. Changes of scene between heaven and earth, and varying fortune in the field are natural enough at such a crisis. They produce a pleasantly diversified action. We have heard the reverse complaint when fighting is prolonged and unrelieved by incident or transition. The poet is then monotonous and dull. He must always tell his tale as the individual critic would have told it, *s'il avait eu le bonheur d'être Homère*. But grant that there is all the abruptness that the critics see. It is evidence of a new bard only if an author may never change his style. The battle canto of *Marmion* can be shown to have more abruptness than other parts of the lay. It would probably have had more still, had there been unruly gods and their sympathies to consider.

The attack on Θ goes back to the days of Lachmann and Hermann. The latter termed the lay *ein auffallendes Beispiel des elendsten Nachahmerstils*. That is surely an extraordinarily harsh judgment. Köchly dubbed its author *centonarius*, and

Kayser drew out the parallelisms. In more recent years Naber, Leaf and others have supported the view that the author was a late plagiarist. So Jebb, who also thought that Θ and *I* were added to the *Iliad* by a poet who conceived the idea of extending the epic by adding another defeat of the Achaeans. In Dr. Leaf's words, Θ is a 'prologue to *I*.' See also Christ, *Prolegg.* 69 f. But this leads to a strange result. *I* has been shown—by Dr. Monro, who nevertheless seemed to think it an essential part of the *Iliad*—to be 'Odyssean' in its language, and Dissectors accept the proof. Yet no one has discovered that Θ, which, according to the prologue theory, must have been contemporary in origin with or later than *I*, has this Odyssean taint. We cannot understand how it has escaped it, if Jebb and Leaf and Wilamowitz are right.

Other authorities take a very different view. Grote thinks that Θ, far from being the work of a late *Flick-Poet*, belongs to the Achilleid or *Ur*-poem. Friedländer, in his well-known work, *Die hom. Krit. von Wolf bis Grote*, appears to agree. So Geddes, in his development of the Grotian theory. Father Browne, however, who is a follower of Geddes, thinks Θ is late and Odyssean (*Handbook of Homeric Study*, 111). Other opinions are stated and discussed in Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang*. We may add the newest hypothesis, that of Mülder and others, who hold that the *Menis* came late and was used to bind groups of lays into an *Iliad*. To these authorities Θ was a lay in one such group. 'Any number of such theories can readily be devised, if we wish to be original' (Lang, *H and E*, 128). An excellent defence of the book is to be found in Calebow's *De Iliadis libro octavo* (1870). Friedländer, a sober critic, also protests (*op. cit.*, 31 f.) that the enemies of Θ are not justified in arguing lateness because the composition is to them inferior and exhibits some *Hast und Kürze*.

Wilamowitz develops the theory of Leaf and Jebb and makes it more precise. Θ was composed by a rhapsode of the seventh century, in order to bring *I* and *K*, then *Einzellieder*, into a gap in the then *Iliad*, in which *H* was followed by *Λ*. Wilamowitz' words are, 'to make a bridge from *H* over *I* and *K* to *Λ* and beyond.' But this appears not to be a quite accurate description. There was, in the *Iliad* as assumed, no

gap requiring to be bridged, for *Λ* then followed *H*, much as *Θ* does now. The better statement would be that the rhapsode wanted to bring in *I* and *K*, saw that that could be done between *H* and *Λ*, and did it by composing *Θ*. We may note, as regards *K*, that this theory runs counter to other views of the origin of that pariah of the *Iliad*, and especially to the story, which has been made so much of by Dissectors, that it was a separate lay till Pisistratus took pity on it and gave it its present place. As regards *I*, many will have difficulty in believing it ever was an *Einzellied*, and there are many more who will continue to regard the offer of atonement in it as an absolutely essential part of the Story of Achilles as told in the *Iliad*. *I* is the fulfilment of Athené's promise in *A* 213, as the opening of *K* is of Achilles' warning in *A* 243.

Wilamowitz has first to fix the limits of the new *Verbindungsstück*. He decides that it extends from *H* 323 to a point in *I* between the *Agora* and the *Boulé* early in that book. This piece is shown by internal evidence to be a homogeneous mass. It is the work of the rhapsode, and we need not object to or criticize the proof of its unity. What is of concern to Unitarians is the demonstration that it is late. The grounds are (p. 398) (1) the borrowings from other parts of the *Iliad*, (2) the dependence of *Θ* on cyclic poems, (3) a reference to the *Theogony* of Hesiod, and (4) peculiarities of language. We take them in order.

First, as to the borrowings. The equations relied on are:

(*a*) *Θ* 491 = *K* 199, *ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χῶρος* —very appropriate, it is said (p. 373), of some men who have (in *K*) scrambled through the fosse to sit down for a talk, but an *Unding* of an army of 50,000 men. So *Θ* has borrowed the line from *K*. The line is certainly good in *K*, but that it was absurd of the poet of *Θ* to use it of the spot where the Trojan *Agora* was held cannot be admitted. Editors make no objection. In twelve commentaries I find no absurdity noted. On the other hand it is easy to take objection to *K* 199-203. The passage 'can be cut out clean.' That always raises a presumption of interpolation. Paley thinks 199-201 may be interpolated. Bothe brackets *ὅθι δὴ . . . πιπτόντων*. Stier sees in 199 a clear reference to *Θ* 491.

(*b*) A marked feature of the *Verbindungsstück* is a certain *Streben nach Parallelismus*. Its author was ever striving to

duplicate descriptions or incidents. It is mainly by this that the limits of the new composition can be fixed. The trail of the parallelizer is over it all. Critics of the dissecting school usually see in such parallelizing evidence of two poets, one of them a late imitator. Wilamowitz reasons differently. An illustration of his position is to be found on pp. 377 f. In *I* 14 ff. Agamemnon harangues the host weeping copiously; but that you can hardly have a king speak in public with a stream of tears flowing down his cheeks is, to Wilamowitz, 'incontestable.' Surely a strange assertion. Few, we think, who know Homer's Agamemnon, will agree. But Wilamowitz finds absurdity, and explains it thus. The *Nachdichter* is contrasting Agamemnon with Hector, whose 'splendid appearance' he had described in Θ 493-96. There the Trojan leader 'leans on his huge spear, which glitters with bronze and gold.' That description of Hector is taken from *Z* 318 ff. So we have at once an example of the 'parallelizing art of the poet and of his dependence on other parts of the *Iliad*.'

We are concerned only with the alleged borrowing from *Z*. Plagiarism by Θ is decreed because in *Z* the description is 'magnificent,' the poet calling special attention to Hector's *of*fensive weapon as he visits his brother Paris, who is at the moment furbishing his *de*fensive armour and bow. This appears to be stated in all seriousness, and we leave it to carry conviction as it may, without further comment.

It is added that Zenodotus did not read the lines in Θ—though it is difficult to see how they can be cut out. But Aristarchus took the opposite view (Pierron, *a.l.*), and modern editors do not bracket the lines. See also Ludwich, *Aristarchs hom. Textkrit.* i 270. The lines are admirable in Θ. They are good in *Z* also. It is most thoroughly Homeric to repeat a happy description, and Zenodotus' διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ γεγράφθαι has nothing in it.

(*c*) *I* 92-95 = *H* 323-26 (p. 380 n). In each passage it is stated that, after a feast, discussion is initiated by Nestor, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή. In *H* the lines must be an interpolation, because no 'good counsel' of Nestor's had preceded; in *I* it had. But different views are taken of καὶ πρόσθεν. It seems best, with Dr. Leaf on *I* 94, to interpret '*of old*, without any particular reference.' So Paley.

(*d*) The list of chiefs (Θ 262 ff.) who rally against the

Trojans is a 'miserable plagiarism' from that in *H* 164-68 of the heroes who offer to fight Hector (p. 390). For in *Θ* the chiefs do nothing, 'which is explicable only by the appropriation of extraneous lines.' Nine chiefs are mentioned, and four of them, Diomede, Aias, Teucer and Agamemnon, *are* active in the sequel—the brief sequel before Zeus interferes (*Θ* 335) to closure the Achaeans' efforts. But could there be greater unreason than to require the poet to mention all or most of the chiefs again? Is he never to have any discretion allowed him?

(*e*) *Θ* 331-34=*N* 420-23 (p. 390 and n)—a well-known case. In the former Teucer, disabled by Hector, in the latter Hypsenor, speared by Deiphobus, is carried off by Mekisteus and Alastor. In this case the lines are pronounced original in *Θ* and an interpolation in *N* (though others, as Christ, *Prolegg.* 65, 70, hold that *Θ* imitates *N*). In *N*, it is said, the poet first lets Hypsenor be killed and then be carried off 'groaning' (if στενάχοντα must be read), which is of course absurd. But all that is said in *N* (411 f.) of the effect of Deiphobus' spear-cast is that he wounded Hypsenor in the liver, εἶθαρ δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσε. The assumption that this means 'killed on the spot' is not warranted. In most of the other occurrences of the phrase, *Λ* 578, *P* 349, *E* 176, *Π* 425, *N* 360, *O* 291, *Ω* 498, *ξ* 69, 236, *ω* 381, it may mean either 'killed' or, in a general way, 'disabled,' 'put *hors de combat*.' In *υ* 118 it certainly does not mean 'killed.' Nor does it in *X* 335. There, as perhaps in *N*, the poet no doubt means to imply that a death-blow had been given, but certainly not that the individual smitten died as soon as struck. In λύτο γούνατα, whether by itself or in the common formula λ. γ. καὶ φίλον ἦτορ, there is never any approach to the suggestion of death. We might refer to the parallel expression λῦσε δὲ γυῖα. It is often used of a man who is apparently killed. In *Φ* 406, *Π* 805 and *Ψ* 726, it means something far short of that. Another reason given is that in *N* Antilochus had driven off Asios' horses and so could not be present to protect Hypsenor after he fell. But there is nothing in that. Antilochus had time to dispose of the horses and return to the fray.

(*f*) Agammenon's speech, *I* 17 ff., has been taken from *B* 110-41 (p. 378). Wilamowitz himself admits that the lines

are suitable in *I.* He seems, however, to err in thinking Agamemnon had summoned only the ἄριστοι. The assembly was an *Agora.* See lines 11, 13, 33, and Dr. Leaf's *Introduction* (though in his note on 17 there is speculation).

(*g*) The remaining cases may be grouped together. Θ 342-45 appear to be modelled on *O* 1-3 (p. 383 n), but another piece of *O* 'uses' Θ, because *O* 376=Θ 244. *H* 370 f. is from Σ 298 f. (p. 392 n), and *H* 462 f. from *M* 31 f. (p. 395). The scene in Olympus in the opening of Θ and the mutinous move of Hera and Athené are from Δ and *E* respectively. That 'does not require discussion.' In all these cases no reasons are given, and the simple reply in every one of them is, why not *vice versa?*

Next, Θ is late because it is dependent on cyclic poems—the *Ilias Parva* certainly and perhaps the *Cypria.*

(*a*) Θ 548 and 550-52 were inserted in the *Iliad* by Barnes from the 'spurious Platonic dialogue' (Leaf, *a.l.*) *Alcib.* ii. Wilamowitz says the lines do not suit in Θ, 'and so are from a Cyclic epos' (p. 375 n). Why? That Quintus Smyrnaeus, vi 644 ff., makes the Trojans camp before the Achaean wall after a victory does not help to this conclusion. Wilamowitz finds it 'very easy to believe,' but there is no evidence.

(*b*) In the same note it is said to be very easy to believe that in the pursuit of Nestor by Hector the poet of Θ has used the *Ilias Parva*, and on p. 388 that 'the rescue of Nestor by Diomede is known to be imitated (*bekanntlich nachgebildet*) from the beautiful scene in the same Cyclic poem which we know from Pindar (*Pyth.* vi 28 ff., with scholia).[1] So the dependence of the lay on a Cyclic poem is established.' Apparently *Ilias Parva* is a slip for *Aethiopis*, to which all the conjectures refer.[2] So Heyne, on the passage in Pindar, and Fennell quoting Paley. But no fragment of the abstract of Proclus or of the *Aethiopis* relating the incident in Pindar's ode is given by Kinkel, and the section on the Cyclics in the Appendix to Monro's *Odyssey* is silent about it. In fact Welcker (*Ep. Cycl.* ii 174), though he thinks Pindar took it from Arctinus, says it is nowhere expressly ascribed to the latter.

[1]There appears to be nothing in the scholia as given in Boeckh's edition of Pindar to support the allegation of imitation or derivation.

[2]Robert (*Homerische Becher* 25) also says of the passage in Pindar that it is a reference to 'the *Ilias Parva* or the *Aethiopis*.' But Memnon was slain in the latter and could not appear in the former, the action of which is later.

In Pindar's ode one of Nestor's horses is shot by Paris. Memnon spears at the old man. Antilochus throws himself in front of his father, receives the spear, and is killed. So the only point common to Pindar, supposed to be following a cyclic poem, and Θ, is the shooting of Nestor's horse by Paris. The death of Antilochus at Memnon's hands is known to Homer (δ 187).

Why must we impute imitation to Θ? Granting that Pindar took the scene from Arctinus, why may not Arctinus have taken the shooting incident from Θ and Memnon's part from δ? Or why bring in a cyclic poet at all? Pindar may have himself combined the accounts in Homer and added Antilochus' devotion from some other traditional source. Nothing in clear.

(*c*) The Burial of the Dead, it is said, may have been taken from the *Cypria*, but it is admitted that this cannot be proved (p. 393).

(*d*) The stay of the Achaeans at Lemnos on their way to Troy, Θ 230, corresponds to the call at Tenedos mentioned in the *Cypria* (p. 394 n).

We are not compelled or even tempted in any of these cases to believe that Θ is imitating some cyclic poem, known or unknown. On the contrary, the well-known dependence of cyclic poetry as a whole on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* favours the suggestion that the Cyclics are the imitators as in so many other cases.

As regards Hesiod, Θ 13-16 and *Theogon.* 720-25 are compared. Wilamowitz settles the order of the lines in the latter, and says that it seems to him, 'and is accepted by Robert,[1] that the author of Θ refers to the *Theogony*, through which the position of Heaven, Earth and Tartarus, and the punishment of the Titans were made popular' (p. 389 and n.). The points of similarity between the passages are the occurrence in each of the phrase ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα (in the *Theogon.*, it is in a line generally regarded as spurious), and Θ 16 almost=*Theogon.*, 720. Besides this, Θ 15 almost=*Theogon.*, 811, which is in a passage which Rzach brackets.

It is argued that the passage in Θ is the later because there is *Steigerung* in it; it improves on the *Theogony* by putting

[1] See *Stud. zu Il.* 168. Θ 13 ff. must be borrowed, because Θ is so very modern!

Tartarus below Hades. But this affords extremely slight ground against Θ. We might as reasonably argue that the *Theogony* is later, because the exaggeration natural to the more primitive account has been to some extent toned down. I notice that Cauer finds the *Steigerung* in Hesiod! He says (*Grundfragen*[2], 342 n.) *Hesiod Theog.* 720 *ff. hatte den homerischen Gedanken übertreibend ausgemalt.* He refers no doubt to Hesiod's most hyperbolical bronzen anvil. A safer conclusion is Dr. Leaf's on Θ 12—'it is hard to say which' poem imitates the other. In his first edition he said Θ 13 ff. seemed to have been in Hesiod's mind. One cannot wonder at a change of view when there is so little to go upon.

The text of the *Theogony* is declared by the authorities to be in a very bad condition. It 'seems to have undergone successive recensions and interpolations of the early rhapsodists' (Paley, *Hesiod*) 156. And the conclusion of the *Titanomachia*, in which our lines occur, seems to have fared as badly as most parts. Schömann (*De Compos. Theogon.* 15 f.) says it has so many defects that it is not to be attributed to Hesiod, but to a diaskeuast. Cf. Gerhard *Ueber d. Hes. Theogon.* 114, 140, 148 ff. and 156; Fick, *Hesiods Gedichte* 19 f. and 74 f., who rejects 720-819 as a modern interpolation; Welcker, *Die hes. Theogon.* 104 and 133 ff., who rejects 721-819; Flach, *Die hes. Theogon.* 94, and others. If these authorities are right, we must hesitate before concluding that Θ is later than a late interpolation in Hesiod. All the lines which Θ is supposed to borrow are to the critics extremely doubtful quantities. The case against it is consequently of the weakest.

With the conclusion thus arrived at, that Θ is as late as the seventh century, the language of the book is found to agree. But the linguistic peculiarities are not enumerated. It may be hoped that such an enumeration will yet be made, so that the strength of the proof from them may be estimated. If a list be drawn up from Dr. Leaf's commentary, they can hardly be said to be numerous or striking. They do not appear to be more serious in the aggregate than those which editors find in *A*. If we test by the Digamma and compare the results with those for *A*, we find there is no more neglect of *F* in Θ than in that book of the *Ur-Ilias*. It seems im-

possible that Θ can be, as Wilamowitz thinks, of or near the age of Archilochus, in whose work *F* is non-existent. Nor do the Articular uses indicate that Θ is a late composition. The list given by Miss Stawell (*H and I* 285) compares favourably with that for *A* or any other 'early' book. Only τὼ δ' ἵππω, δείσαντε, 136, is worthy of remark. ἵππω δὲ δϝείσαντε may be suggested; cf. 133, where editors propose βροντήσας δὲ δϝεινόν for βροντήσας δ' ἄρα. Strange forms are rare. Robert (*op. cit.* 166) specifies five *iterative* verbs. He and others take these as a sign of late origin. But see Bréal's condemnation of that assumption in his review of Robert's work in *Journ. d. Savs.* (1903) 143. If these verbs are such an indication, it is an extraordinary thing that in *K* 5-16, a passage said to be interpolated in a very late book, the *Nachdichter* fails to use them, though he has a good opportunity. Unusual prepositional usages and constructions and pseudo-archaisms appear to be few in number in Θ. We have already observed that no attempt has been made to prove it 'Odyssean' in its language, though *I*, which called it into being, is supposed to be so.

There is one part of Θ with which much less fault has been found than with others, and which to many even of the hostile critics of the book is a piece of genuine old poetry—the *Aristeia* of Teucer, 263-334. Wilamowitz (p. 390) styles it 'a fresh, choice piece, the superiority of which to the rest of Θ strikes everybody.' The latter part of this statement cannot be accepted. But Wilamowitz goes on to say that borrowed lines are not found in the *Aristeia*. Dr. Leaf, however, enumerates 18 such lines, and that is a far from sufficient statement. If we analyse the 69 verses of the episode by the method made popular by Kayser, we find that there are not ten for which, in whole or part, an exact equivalent or a model cannot be found elsewhere in the poems. The *Aristeia* is thus proved to be a cento, and ungenuine and late—as much as other parts of Θ are to most Dissectors—by the application of this absurd device. It *is* absurd, because any passage of any book can be proved to be late, as compared with some other, if some similarity of subject or incident be present. A sufficient number of equations can generally be discovered, for, as Rothe has observed, there is hardly a line in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* which is not

like some other. In Ellendt's *Drei hom. Abh.*, 57 ff., we find set out all the lines and parts of lines in Λ which occur, or are similar to others which occur, elsewhere in the poems. The mass is so great that we shall be compelled to say that, if there be anything in the parallel-passage method, Λ cannot possibly be the bit of *Ur*-poetry which it is almost universally considered to be. And Ellendt's statement has a more particular interest for us here. He finds (p. 56) that Λ 'betrays in many references acquaintance with *H* and Θ.' So the method, in other hands, leads to a conclusion which is the exact opposite of that of Wilamowitz and Kayser.

The Homeric repetitions, rightly considered, are among the best proofs of unity of authorship. Their abuse by those Dissectors who simply specify equations and infer that one passage or the other is late and ungenuine, is a very bad feature of Homeric criticism. Erhardt (*Entstehung* xcv) characterizes it as *eine der grössten Schwächen der neueren Homerkritik.* $x=y$, $\therefore$ $x>y$ or $y>x$, as you please, is the convenient mode of proof. It is amazing that such procedure should have become popular even with the critical rank and file; it is deplorable that it receives the sanction of great scholars. Rothe's work, *Die Bedeutung der Wiederholungen für d. hom. Frage* (on which cf. Cauer, *Grundfragen*² 486 ff.), was an effectual antidote to a long succession of dreary treatises on the subject. As theorists the professional repetition-mongers have been silent since. In practice the method is still the most popular means of discrediting tracts in the poems. It behoves Unitarians to expose it wherever they find it employed.

It is one of the features of the present essay, which of course displays the erudition and acuteness which distinguish all the work of its great author. And Unitarians may be sincerely grateful to him for some well-deserved rebukes administered to Dissectors generally. It is refreshing to read that Θ is not after all a mere cento; that it is not full of interpolations (cf. Robert *op. cit.* 167; Θ is an *Einheit*, and not a line is to be athetized); that parallelism may be evidence of homogeneity and does not necessarily imply imitation and separate authorship; that the critics' inferences from linguistic peculiarities are often fallacious; that the notion of the *Sagenverschiebung* men that the two Aiases were originally

one is an *Ungeheuerlichkeit*, and so on. But passages are still adjudged spurious with a haste which is unbecoming, the deductions from repetitions are rash, and generally the evidence adduced is far too slight to warrant the conclusions drawn. There is too much of the peculiar procedure which distinguishes so many Homeric treatises written in the cause of disruption.

THE 'CONTINUATION' OF THE *ODYSSEY*—IMITATION

CP IX (1914)

EXTRACT PP. 36—41

AMONG the many means which used to be employed against the poems, the repetitions in the narrative had an honoured place. The impulse to their use and abuse came from Hermann, who in his *De Iteratis* (1840) propounded the canon that repetitions are generally to be suspected, unless they are either the words of a messenger delivering his message, or merely formal lines belonging to the epic commonplace or *Gemeingut*. This dictum was accepted and acted on, even by Homerists of standing. It appears in the first edition of Leaf's *Iliad* (on *O* 263 ff.), and it is repeated with approval in Hennings' *Homers Odyssee* (1903, p. 36); and no weapon that has been forged by the destructive criticism of Homer has done greater service in the disruption of the epic structure.[1]

The working principle thus enunciated is fundamentally wrong, for it involves a mistaken allocation of the burden of proof, and inquiry is poisoned at its source. *Prima facie* every line in Homer is entitled to stand *donec probetur in contrarium*, and repeated matter as much as any other. The burden of proof is on him who condemns. For there is

[1]It may be added that Hermann's exclusion of the commonplace has not been regarded. The formula and the phrase, aye, at times even the epithet, have been freely misused.

nothing strange or unnatural about the practice of repetition in any early literature.[1] Economy of phraseology by way of repetition is a feature 'that marks early national epics' (Andrew Lang *H and A* 102 f.; cf. his remarks in *J. Phil.* xxxii 3). The modern man must be as original as possible; the early poet had no such feeling to hamper him. If a thing was good, and all in Homer is good, it might be repeated.

And so repetitions abound in the two epics. They are more numerous than many readers of the text would believe. Schmidt (*Parallel-Lexikon*, pref.) calculates that the lines which recur, in whole or in part, amount to nearly one-third of the total, and that statement, as he shows, does not put the matter at its strongest. One can form an idea for oneself—it is a useful exercise—by comparing any one book, line by line and phrase by phrase, with the rest. A most careful analysis of this kind has been made for *A* by Ellendt (*Drei hom. Abh.*, 57 ff.), and it shows that there are few lines in that book of the *Iliad*, generally accepted as of the *Ur*-poem, for which, in whole or in part, exact equivalents or close parallels cannot be found.

For these reasons there is nothing to startle, much less to displease, the critic who approaches the poetry with an open mind, and with but one basic principle for poetry so situated as the Homeric, viz., Belzner's *der Dichter gibt uns die Regeln für sein Schaffen, nicht wir ihm.*[2] Repetition of matter is obviously a normal feature. There is nothing to raise an adverse presumption and so to shift the *onus probandi*. The disruptionist, on the other hand, eyed the repetitions askance, with something of the feeling of Herbert Spencer when he said of Macaulay's composition that it 'resembled low organisms, being a repetition of similar

[1] I need not give examples; but I question if it is known how much repetition there is in authors of the classical periods of Greece and Rome. I refer to Wölffel, *Gleich- und Anklänge bei Aeschylus*; Fritzsche, *Die Wiederholungen bei Horaz*; Kellermann, *De Plauto sui imitatore*; for Vergil to Albracht in *Hermes*, xvi 393 ff., and for Ovid to *Mnemos.* 1890, 164 ff. It is stated that Ovid's repetitions are more numerous than those of any other author except Homer. And more, the incongruities blamed in Homer are a common characteristic of Ovid's poetry. The poet takes some liberty in accommodating old matter to a new context. For Tennyson, a minute examination of the *Idylls* and *In Memoriam* has satisfied me that all the species of the Homeric repetitions are common.

[2] Approved by Drerup, *Neue Wege u. Ziele der Homerforschung*, 26, and made cardinal in his recent work on E.

parts.' Hermann's initial suspicion jumped but too well with the inquirer's habitual attitude to the poetry—his conviction that the epics were the work of many hands in many ages. And he had only to add to this suspicion a soupçon of evidence—some small grammatical irregularity in the passage which he wished to eliminate, some discrepancy, some inferiority, or some other aberration, and the suspicion of the presence of the 'sedulous ape' was made a certainty. Small wonder that the method became highly popular. It had the merit and attraction of simplicity; the veriest tyro could apply it, and did so in many treatises. Books were written on the Repetitions alone, all in German, except one, Goldschmidt's *Gentagelserne i de homeriske Digte* (Copenhagen, 1900), a large and careful but not very illuminating compilation. I need name here only the outstanding works, Sittl's and Gemoll's (*Hermes*, xviii 34 ff.) for the *Odyssey*, and Christ's for the *Iliad*. But the output went on till Rothe, roused by the excesses that were being committed, published his *Bedeutung der Wiederholungen* in 1890. The effect was surprising. There has been no further separate publication of the kind. These efforts ceased on the moment, as cease the cries of a pack of Indian jackals when the angry sleeper steps outside his tent and discharges a barrel of his revolver. But the evil that men do lives after them. The method was too fruitful to be given up; and those familiar with the works of Robert, Fick, Wilamowitz, Hennings, and many others, well know what an amount of mischief has been caused.

This department of Homeric criticism—if criticism it can be called—degenerated in fact into a hunt for 'peculiarity' on which to base an inference of plagiarism or imitation, and no peculiarity was too trivial to be overlooked. An aberration which clearly pointed to the bungling imitator—a rare variety, for imitators are generally careful—was seldom detected. When Thomson describes the sportive lambs 'this way and that convolved, in friskful glee,' the critics recall Milton's 'writhed him to and fro convolved' of the Prince of Darkness—and laugh. Can anything of the sort be produced for Homer? Instead, the dependence is on small improprieties, chiefly in grammar—of all things wherewith to seek to pin down genius—and of a kind that in the cases of

other authors are simply noted and left.[1] But it even became unnecessary to expose irregularity or something which the individual could pronounce repugnant to taste. A hysteria stage was reached in which the critic simply took the Concordance in hand, drew up a list of parallelisms or similarities, and then, in sublime disregard of Ellendt's demonstration and the everlasting truth which it embodies, proclaimed the passage to be condemned a cento. Point was added to the proof by denouncing the author at every opportunity *quod omne molitur inepte*. This vituperation, it is well known, became a speciality of the Higher Criticism of Homer. Volkmann has collected specimens in his *Nachträge*, ii 16. For abuse of the plagiarist in particular, one might refer to Wilamowitz' section on the 'Continuation' (*HU* 67 ff.). Parts of the *Odyssey* are characterized by *sclavische Abhängigkeit*, *notorische Flickcharacter*, *dürftigen Flickereien*, *stümperhaft Unschicklichkeit*, etc. There is 'a want of polish' in this. 'Invective is not argument.' Or again, the case was bolstered up by means of strange expedients. Hennings (*op. cit.* 587) proves borrowing in the *Nekyia* by a list of parallel passages. 'One-third of all the verses'—not more than Ellendt found in *Λ*—'are borrowed or formal.' But certain parts do not display this infirmity in the same degree. So 'these may have been borrowed from lost poems!' And the imitation has not always been well done; there are 'discrepancies.' That only shows 'how desultory the work of the Rhapsode was!' Surely the most unkindest cut of all! If there is one thing which we are to believe in this matter, it is that the Rhapsode, the Flickpoet, the λόγιος ἀνήρ, the *Bearbeiter*, ἤ ὅστις δήποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος, knew his Homer well and could patch you up a line, a passage, a cento, out of fragments culled from every part of the poems. He took pains with his mosaics. *Improbo labore splendidos pannos undique corradit et consuit*, Naber says of him (*QH*, 76).[2] And now to have a patron turn on him and reproach him with desultoriness! But what are we to say of such proce-

[1]Few have ever been more extreme to mark such peculiarities and to amend or excise than Nauck. Reference may be made to Ludwich's *Polemik* (*Ar.*, ii). Nauck did the same with Sophocles. Students of Jebb's edition know how, on every other page of that great work, its author's knowledge of the language, and his feeling for the ἦθος of the dramatist make short work of Nauck's objections, and restore nearly every line that he had sought to expel.

[2]In words unconsciously taken from Spohn, *De extrema Odysseae parte*, 91.

dure? Just what Hennings himself, well capable of appreciating exuberant eccentricity in another, says of Flick's *Zahlenspiel—das nenne ich nicht ein wissenschaftlichen Verfahren, sondern ein Lustexempel* (*W. kl Phil* 1910, 490). Roemer asks (*Ein Dichter u. ein Kritiker*, 7) of just such another piece of criticism, 'are we dealing with Homeric poets or with Byzantine *Centonarii*'?

Or the method may be estimated by results. The criteria employed are so weak that one can often retort by proving, by the same method, that the imitator is the imitated. Gemoll proved the *Doloneia* later than the *Odyssey* from the parallel passages, and Düntzer proved it earlier by exactly the same means. The *Doloneia* has also been shown in this way to be earlier than early parts of the *Iliad* (*L of D* 123 f.). Or the equations or inferences were sometimes stated in ignorance of the fact that some one else had already used them the reverse way. That was inevitable. One critic says *B* 55 is taken from *K* 302; another, that *K* 302 is from *B* 55. Or take the case of *K* 242-44 and α 64-7; I know of fifteen authorities who have studied the two passages, *all satisfied that there is plagiarism in the one or the other*. Of these nine say the one is the imitator, and six that the other is. Or yet again, consider the lengths to which the process carried the enthusiasts who were satisfied *a priori* that the repetition meant imitation, and that all they had to do was to discover some flaw. Let me give two out of a number of extreme cases. Von Christ (*Wiederholungen*, 254) argues against Ψ 235 as compared with *B* 42, and this is how he depreciates it. 'We too are in the habit, when we are wakened, of sitting up and pulling on our stockings; but when anyone wants to speak with us at such an early hour, we don't lie still in bed, but, unless illness prevents us, we go to meet him!' Sittl (p. 45) compares Σ 108 and ξ 464. 'As singing at meals was a practice of the Greeks even in the heroic age, and so is not here considered to be a pernicious consequence of wine (?), I should be disposed to find in the latter passage a parechetic imitation of the former.' I might add Wilamowitz' remarks, on *B* 42 and α 437 (*HU* 8), on the impossibility of putting on a χιτὼν ποδήρης while sitting on a bed, for which it may suffice to refer to Hennings' rebuke (*op. cit.*, 72).[1] It is surely

[1]And now to Professor Babbitt in *CJ* viii 214.

not too much to say that men who can allow a prejudice to carry them so far had better refrain altogether from criticizing epic poetry. Well does Erhardt say (*Entstehung* xcv) that this procedure has been 'one of the worst weaknesses of Homeric criticism,' and stigmatize it as a 'downright nuisance.'

And these operations prove too much. If the experts are correct, a state of things results which no sane critic could accept. The total effect is unthinkable. Even Mr. Lang's 'a thing of shreds and patches' is then no adequate description of the epic. Can we conceive the *unus color* and the *mirificus concentus* that Wolf admired to be the outcome of such *ἀνήριθμον* manipulation? Is it likely that the epics were ever subjected to such treatment, exposed to the attentions of the fools of every age—the meddlers are always *Stümpers* or 'dolts'—and that, if they were, this continued malfeasance should issue in the production of the two great epics of the world?

REPETITION IN HOMER AND TENNYSON[1]

CW XVI (1923)

[EXTRACT]

THIS result led me to devote attention to the Homeric repetitions in other parts of the poems, and to the literature, all of it German except one big and not very illuminating work in Danish, which deals with them. It was somewhat irksome toil, and a point came when I welcomed relief in an idea which occurred to me—could anything similar (it would probably be only remotely similar) be found in the work of any modern poet? I rose from my seat as the idea struck me purposing to take down from a bookcase the first volume of poetry which should catch my eye, and the first was a little green volume marked on the back *In Memoriam*. As I read the title, my resolution weakened; the contrast

[1]A paper read to the St. Andrews Branch of the English Association.

between that poem and the epics of Homer seemed so great. The modern poem is an elegy in the form of songs embodying lament and reflection; the epics are long and continuous narratives, stories told doubtless for entertainment only, of the battles and loves of 'gods and heroes long ago,' or of voyagings in 'perilous seas.' The one expresses the feelings and the beliefs of an individual and his attitude to the great problem of life, at a time when these were stirring the minds of men and calling for new solutions, and is of an intensely personal, subjective character throughout; in the others the personality of the poet is all but completely suppressed. The one describes a phase in the life of an individual; the others give a picture, such a picture, it has been said, as has seldom, if ever, been given by another poet, of the life and the culture of a period in the history of the world. The one was written by a poet who was heir to all the ages of literary effort in the three millennia that have passed since Homer proclaimed the opening of European literature; the others were composed in the childhood of Greece, in an age which we indeed no longer regard as rude and barbarous, but which might be so described by comparison with British civilization fifty years ago. Hence there was little ground for anticipating that a comparison would yield anything of interest. But, thinking that for this very reason anything discovered would be the more valuable, I read *In Memoriam* through once more with great care, noting repeated matter as far as I could, and this single reading was so fruitful of surprises that I procured a Concordance, and continued the examination with results which proved still more gratifying.

Let us turn to *In Memoriam* and see if repetitions are to be found in it which can be claimed as similar in nature to those described for Homer. I cannot read out to you all the repeated matter; I can only give samples and you must take my word for it that it is really abundant. The poem is, on a rough calculation, only one-twentieth of the length of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* together, and I do not go so far as to say that, multiplied twenty-fold, the bulk of the repetitions would equal those in the Homeric epics. It is not to be expected; one must make allowance for differences already referred to, and especially for the absence from the modern

poem of a special commonplace. But the correspondence is, in view of these differences, a very remarkable one indeed.

To begin with the simple phrase, the practice is, in several respects, just the Homeric way. The repetition with variation in the following is exactly in the Homeric manner, 'the circle of the wise,' 'the circle of the breast,' 'the circle of the hills.' So for 'light and shade,' 'beam and shade,' 'beat the floor and beat the ground'; 'dash'd with wandering isles of night,' 'is dashed with flecks of sin,' 'deep tulips dash'd with fiery dew.' Sometimes the combination of words becomes formal to a degree and recurs over and over again. The form 'from more to more,' 'from deep to deep,' is found no fewer than twenty-three times, perhaps oftener. Less frequent, but quite common, is the type, 'breathe a thousand tender vows,' 'But he, he knows a thousand things,' 'To whom a thousand memories call.' And as a last example, note 'To where in yonder orient star,' 'And drown'd in yonder living blue,' 'Or dives in yonder greening gleam,' 'And roar from yonder dropping day,' 'And ground in yonder social mill;' in every one of the five cases we have exactly the same form and order, 'yonder' followed by a noun with a dissyllabic epithet between the two words. Whether this is the conscious use of a regular approved form or not I do not seek to determine. The poet drops into a familiar form probably without thinking much about it. In most cases we cannot say, but sometimes we seem to be able to distinguish. In the lines 'And I perceived no touch of change,' and 'The touch of change in calm or storm,' we have verbal repetition. But when we also find 'Or touch'd the changes of the state,' and 'A touch of shame upon the cheek,' we see the resemblance at once, but a resemblance apparently due only to the haunting influence of a form of words. I think the same may be said of a very remarkable triad, 'Is shrivell'd in a fruitless fire?' 'Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer?' 'Wherefore grieve Thy brethren with a fruitless tear.' There is no recurrence of the same phrase; the subject-matter in each case and the frame of the sentence are quite different. The one word, as soon as it is recalled to the poet's mind, at once makes the end of the line in a familiar form. It is perhaps the same with other instances. Early in the poem we have the line, 'Like her I go, I cannot stay;' and later on, 'At least

to me, I would not stay'; and in two other passages, 'No lapse of moons can canker love, Whatever fickle tongues may say,' and 'Are earnest that he loves her yet, Whate'er the faithless people say.'

These must suffice as examples of the phrase, but I may just mention instances which I have noted in other poems of Tennyson's as illustrating this persisting influence of a form of words, in these cases of the form of a line which has been already used. The first doublette is of lines familiar to everybody, 'And that full voice which circles round the grave,' 'In that fierce light which beats upon the throne.' The parallelism extends through the verse to every single word in it. Just so in the pair of lines, in one poem, 'And all the man was broken with remorse,' and in another, 'And all the hall was dim with steam of flesh.' And in this particular case I happen to be able to show how a recollection of one or other or both these lines has influenced other writers. Mr. Andrew Lang, in one of his *Essays in Little*, does a passage of Homer into English after the manner of several great poets, and one regarding which he slily remarks that 'it could never be mistaken for a version by the Laureate' (meaning Tennyson), ends with the line, 'And all the land was darkened by a mist,' of course an intentional imitation. But I once happened to look into a volume of poems by Mr. Christie Murray, and in the verses on which I lighted was the line, 'And all the man was purified by love.' We have no difficulty in guessing to whom he owed the particular form. Here again it is not easy to say whether in any given case we have a mere influence or unconcealed imitation. In Sir Lewis Morris's glowing verse, written of Socrates, 'And that white soul, cloth'd with a satyr's form, Which shone beneath the laurels day by day, And, fired with burning faith in God and Right, Doubted men's doubts away,' Mr. Dawson evidently finds imitation (*The Makers of Modern Poetry*, 394). He asks if it would ever have been written if Tennyson had not first written the *Palace of Art*. 'The form,' he adds, 'is Tennyson's and the thought too.' But of course Sir Lewis Morris might not have agreed. If I add from my notes the following peculiar lines which I have seen quoted from poems of Goldsmith, 'A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day,' and 'A cap by night, a stocking all the day,' it is only to say that in

these the verbal identity absolutely excludes all idea of mere unconscious reproduction.

To complete the case of the phrase, I have now only to recall your attention to what I said about the frequent recurrence of the same word in the same position in the hexameter. We find that in Tennyson. I do not quote examples for the simple reason that it is observable in nearly every one of the quotations which I have already made from *In Memoriam*. The phrase when repeated takes its own place in the verse, and the principal or emphatic word claims its recognized place inside the phrase. Even when there is no phrase, but only a single word, it is remarkable how even it can come to have an acknowledged position, especially at the end of the line. This is to be wondered at the less in *In Memoriam*, for the line is a short one, only half as long as the average hexameter. On the other hand, there is absent in Tennyson's case the mass of fixed commonplace which is so potent a factor in the Homeric poetry.

So much for the phrase. But I should be leaving you with a very false impression if I led you to think that it is the main count in the repetitional indictment. The destructive critic would say that he founds mainly on the recurring passages, and he would have good ground for relying on them. They are numerous and important, and there is a point in connection with them for purposes of disruption which I cannot go into now. All I seek to do is to rebut the *prima facie* presumption against unity of authorship, which is said to arise from the mere fact of the presence in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of numerous parallel passages, by showing that even in modern literature you may find a poet deliberately and freely repeating himself, and that without offence. In *In Memoriam* the repeated passage is about as common as the repeated phrase. I give you as specimens three of the five instances which occur on the first sheet of my notes: 'My Arthur, whom I shall not see, Till all my widow'd race be run'; 'The dust of him I shall not see Till all my widow'd race be run'; 'I feel it when I sorrow most: 'Tis better to have loved and lost Than never to have loved at all'; and the same with the verbs in the past tense, not to mention a third passage, 'Behold the man who loved and lost'; 'Old yew, which graspest at the stones That name the

underlying dead, Thy fibres net the dreamless head,' and 'Dark yew, that graspest at the stones, And dippest towards the dreamless head.' And, to add one longer and very beautiful case to this short selection, in one place we have, 'While now we sang old songs that peal'd, From knoll to knoll, where, couch'd at ease, The white kine glimmered, and the trees Laid their dark arms about the field,' and, only thirty lines further on, 'Till now the doubtful dusk reveal'd, The knolls once more where, couch'd at ease,' and so on as before. All these examples, and many more which might be catalogued, are intentional repetitions. And what are we to say of such 'self-quotation,' as Mr. Cook styles it? Surely only this, that the poet looked on his work, saw that it was good, and had no scruple about giving it to his public again. To quote from a recent bulletin of our Association, his was 'the grin of delight' which Mr. William Morris assures us comes over the real artist, in letters or in other forms of art, at a close approximation to, if not an exact achievement of, his ideal. Nearly all these duplications are of stanzas or half stanzas which are striking in character either in matter or in diction, and no one has a harsh word for the repetition. And we are not to take that to be in itself—of course that is an important qualification—a blot in Homer which we not only condone but enjoy in our own poet.

Now let us take an entirely different species of repetition. I have said that Homer uses the same poetical idea over and over again. The similes are a very familiar case. The lion, for instance, is the subject of some thirty or forty of these. But Homer does the same in the general course of his narrative, and the hounds of criticism get their noses to the ground at once and run to earth a dishonest misappropriator of other people's goods. But we find exactly the same thing in *In Memoriam*. Tennyson works the same ideas into his verse time after time. I would not lay stress on such a recurrence as that in the three lines, 'And find in love a gain to match,' 'And turns his burthen into gain,' 'My sudden frost was sudden gain,' or on the repeated references to communion with the dead and to the relief which comes from the outpouring of the spirit in grief. These are all so close to the main subject of the elegy. But I find no less than a dozen allusions to the return and the beauties of spring.

There are three to the mellowing influence of the fall of the year, 'And Autumn laying here and there A fiery finger on the leaves'; 'These leaves that redden to the fall'; and 'Unloved that beech will gather brown, That maple burn itself away.' To these might be added repeated references to the beauty peculiar to effects of distance in the landscape, to the rise of man from the ape or from the condition of the brute, to the twinship of Sleep and Death, and others. And who finds fault? Who would compel the poet to be ever seeking fresh words, or complain of poverty of genius, as is done in the case of the epics? But this sameness when detected in Homer has been regarded as an enormity, and the passages are but stubble to the fire of the all-devouring critic.

I turn for a moment to the *Idylls*. It has often been remarked that Tennyson is Homeric; as a fact he is, so to speak, saturated with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. And most Homeric of all his work is that which comes nearest to the epic in character. For it I had not the help of a Concordance, but, by repeated reading and marking, I was able to satisfy myself that there is hardly a kind of repetition in Homer that I could not find in the *Idylls*. Repeated passages abound. There is also a body of commonplace like Homer's. You have the epithet and with the same profuseness—the dismal or the dreary night, the hazy sea, the waste or solitary downs; and the standing epithet—the lily maid, the blameless king, our fair father Christ; and the repeated phrase—as name and fame, a deathless love, made a realm, down the slope city and so on; and the formula, 'But when the next sun breaks from underground,' 'Then spake the hoary chamberlain,' or 'Then spake the little novice garrulously.' We even find instances of repetition among the similes with which the *Idylls* are so freely decorated, and which can be classified, like Homer's, according to the objects which furnish the comparisons. Poets have their favourites which come unbidden when the need for image or an illustration arises. Now an old friend and accomplished English scholar, to whom I mentioned this, at once referred me to Tennyson's own words (in *The Epic*), 'Why take the style of those heroic times? For nature brings not back the Mastodon. Nor we those times; and why should any man Remodel models? These twelve books of mine Were faint Homeric echoes,

nothing worth, Mere chaff and draff, much better burnt,' which may be taken as a confession of imitation of the great Greek exemplar to all epic poets. But, imitation or not, the system of repetition is there in all its fullness, and, if it does no violence in the English poem, we are not to condemn it as *per se* an objectionable feature in Homer.

So far I have made no reference to another kind of repetition, that which is made inside the individual passage for the sake of poetical effect. That is an entirely different matter. For Tennyson it has been dealt with very exhaustively in a little book which is from the pen of a professor in a French Lycée, M. Emile Lauvriére, but written in English, and entitled *Repetition and Parallelism in Tennyson* (London, 1910). Another work on the same subject, *Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse*, by an American scholar, is more general in its scope, though most of it is devoted to illustrative instances from Poe and Swinburne, two poets who, one might say, made a speciality of this particular kind of effect. Here again it startles one to find how large an element it is in Tennyson's poetry. M. Lauvriére's enumeration of instances occupies about a hundred closely printed pages. It is hardly necessary to quote specimens. Take the verses in *In Memoriam* from a song every stanza of which commences with the word 'calm, 'Calm and deep peace in this wide air, These leaves that redden to the fall, And in my heart, if calm at all, If any calm, a calm despair.' The device is used with beautiful effect, generally in skilful combination with an element of contrast, in the lyrics which sparkle through the *Idylls*. 'Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel, and lower the proud, Turn thy wild wheel'; 'O dewy flowers that open to the sun, O dewy flowers that close when day is done'; 'O birds that warble to the morning sky, O birds that warble as the day goes by.' In 'A rose, but one, none other rose had I, A rose, one rose, and this was wondrous fair, One rose, a rose that gladden'd earth and sky, One rose, my rose,' etc., some might think the poet borders on excess, and that there is what an American humorist would call a too roseate flush over the little song. Now this is a kind of repetition which no poet disdains to use. It is not common in Homer, for Homer has few affectations. No poet, it has been said, is more free from tricks of style. He does not labour for

effect; there is no self-consciousness, no preciosity, no 'Bird of Paradise' diction. But he does know, as few have known, how to manipulate the metre, so as to work the really telling word or phrase into the best place in the line, and this does lead him into the occasional use of repetitions of the kind I am now discussing. And he suffers for it at the hands of the micrologist. In one beautiful episode he commences four consecutive lines with the same preposition. The comment is that only a 'Stümper,' which is German for 'duffer,' could be guilty of such bad taste. Yet examples from English poetry could be adduced in any number, and I doubt not from German poetry too. What of Shelley's lines, 'When the lamp is shattered, When the cloud is scattered, When the lute is broken,' and so forth? In the *Holy Grail* I find nine out of eleven consecutive lines beginning with 'of.' But any stick is, or once was, good enough to be used on the Homeric body.

THE HOMERIC REPETITIONS AGAIN

PH.Q. VIII (1929)

In *CW* xvi (1923), 153-68 and 162-66, writing on 'Repetition in Homer and Tennyson,' I observed that two views were possible in explanation of the extraordinarily large amount of repeated matter in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The first, that there has been 'unlimited borrowing, imitation, or patching by a host of poets,' has always been popular with those who seek to break up the epics into fragments. The alternative view is that 'we have one poet practising an economy of phraseology which is observed in other literary efforts of an early age,' and not greatly concerned whether the matter in question is as perfectly apposite in the one place as in the other. This latter view is to be urged here at greater length, and it is to be argued that generally, and indeed in nearly every case, the incongruity observable is due to this obvious striving to husband means of expression.

I propose to show this from examples of the different kinds of repetition, but must make it clear that I cannot do more here than offer samples. To enumerate all the instances I have myself collected from the Homeric text, or that I have found discussed in the abundant literature of the subject, would require a volume.

To begin with the single word, the epithet. It frequently makes trouble. It is at times superfluous; it is an insult to our intelligence to be told that snowflakes are cold or that an island is surrounded by water. Or again, there is something incongruous in the use. Instances are frequently cited, as when the sky in broad daylight is described as ἀστερόεις, or φυσίζοος αἶα is used of earth as the grave, or ἵπποι ὠκύποδες of mares (Ψ 304) which their owner a few lines later describes as very poor runners. Sittl, *Wiederholungen*, 63, disapproves of Geppert's inclination to make capital out of such κατάχρησις, but relies on a few instances himself. Franke, *De nominum propr. epith. Homcis.* 16, notes the absurdity of λιγὺν Πυλίων ἀγορητήν, Δ 293, of Nestor at the head of his contingent. *An oratores lustrat Agamemno?* In other cases, a difference is noted between the applications of an epithet in different parts of the poems, as μελανόχροος or -χρως of Odysseus and beans, or χαμαιεῦναι and -άδες of the Selloi and wallowing swine. Sittl, pp. 65 and 156, remarks on πολυηχής, of a wave-beaten coast and of the 'thick-warbled notes' of the nightingale, and on θυμηρής, of a spouse, a warm bath, and a walking stick. But there is difficulty only if we assume that the particular word had but one shade of meaning, and forget that, while we know little of the epic language outside the poems, we do know that it had wondrous variety and flexibility.

The formula is frequently used as a means of discrediting passages, owing to alleged unsuitability in one place or another. Δούπησεν δὲ πεσών is common of the fall of a warrior. Its use, Π 822, of Patroclus is objected to because his armour had been taken from him. Naber, *QH* 187 f., agrees with Aristarchus; there could be no ψόφος ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων. Christ, *Wiederholungen*, 250 f., defends the use. The words need not imply the rattle of armour. When that occurs the poet adds ἀράβησε δέ κ.τ.λ.. My Greek Professor used to translate δούπησεν δὲ πεσών by 'he came down

with a thud!' Or as another example, *καθέζετο κύδεϊ γαίων*, used unexceptionably in some places, is in *E* 906 applied to Ares, and has a ludicrous effect after *θυμὸν ἀχεύων* in 669 and the lecture which the God of War has had from Zeus. It is probably only the final touch to a picture which is not intended to be complimentary. And other similar instances could be cited from a long list. Two are not to be passed over. Wilamowitz *HU* 8, and von Christ, *Wiederholungen*, 254, criticize the descriptions of Telemachus going to bed, *α* 437, and of Achilles getting up, *Ψ* 235, and are not pleased with them. These two deliverances are by men who are among the masters of Greek literature, but they have only excited ridicule; and one is constrained to ask if the epic poetry of any nation has ever been judged in such a spirit. And taking all instances of the kind now under consideration as a whole, it can safely be said that the detriment to the passages impugned is negligible. Merry and Riddell on *η* 289 express the proper conclusion, that we should 'remember a tendency in epic poetry to use formulas with a certain carelessness.' So Lawson on *K* 515, 'the phrase is part of the epic stock-in-trade, and its local appropriateness must not be more severely judged than that of a standing epithet.'

I pass to the phrase, and give a rough classification. The first class consists of those which recur unchanged, or with slight grammatical modification, as *θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα*, *κάμε τεύχων*, *δούλιον (ἐλεύθερον, νόστιμον) ἦμαρ*, *ζωὸς ἐών*, *τριχθά τε καὶ τετραχθά*, *ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο*. Next there are extensions of the use. First, by means of a variation in its wording, as *νεκρός (σκῦτος, δέπας, σκῆπτρον, δαλός) δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός*, *λέχος πόρσυνε (ἤσχυνε) καὶ εὐνήν*, *χώσατ' ἄρ' (ἤσατο δ')* *αἰνῶς*. Next, words and meaning remain the same, but the application is different, as *ἑλίσσεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*, *Ψ* 320, of a badly driven car, *υ* 24, 28, of Odysseus tossing about on his bed; *πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε*, thrice of the bride-price, *θ* 269 of a different kind of wooing; *(οὔ σφι) θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει*, *B* 614, of the Arcadians, *ε* 67, of sea-crows. And lastly, the wording remains unchanged, but the meaning differs in a greater or less degree in two or more occurrences. Several such instances are given in *CP* xxii (1927), 178. A few more specimens are: *πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο*, *I* 476 etc., 'received,' *β* 387, 'promised'; *ὄφρα νέμοιτο*, *Z* 195 (cf. *Υ* 185), 'that he might

cultivate it,' Ψ 177, 'that it might feed on or consume (the pyre)'; ἐᾶν δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα, *O* 347, 'never mind the spoils,' *P* 13,' give up, abandon.' And so on.

On such materials the Dissector of the poems draws sinister inferences. There must be imitation or plagiarism, and that by some late comer. But surely the mere mass of such repetitions is enough to establish a general practice and to exclude the hypothesis of numerous imitators. The latter involves the agency of a number of bards, and the sacrifice from every part, even what are deemed the oldest parts, of the poems of much to which no serious objection has ever been taken. The manipulation of the Homeric phrase is simply an admirable illustration of the economy of means of expression which is characteristic of early poetry.

When one turns to the repeated passage, it is difficult, so great is the mass of those that have been dealt with, to give a satisfying account of them in moderate compass. The plan of action of the repetition-mongers has been to search for some point of inferiority in the one passage or the other of the pair—a peculiarity in the syntax, an unusual meaning of a word, or anything of the kind. As the presumption of copying or borrowing was an accepted principle, there was no difficulty in adjudging the passage with a blemish to be late and tainted. But frequently even this was not necessary. There was the simpler, subjective process, dependent on the taste of the individual critic, of decreeing that the one passage was not so good, or so well suited to its setting, as the other. Indeed there was, it is sad to think, a hysteria stage reached by these operators, when it was enough to point out parallels and then proclaim them late or early according to the needs of the occasion. But when there was any real discussion, one or other or all of three characteristics were usually present: this part or that of the epic could be assumed to have been proved by somebody to be late, there was a marked disregard of the commonplace as a prominent element in the Homeric way, and the inquirer could make up his mind on the flimsiest grounds.

To substantiate this statement I will refer to a few of the numerous essays in which some of these collections of disquisitions have been considered and their weakness demonstrated. Forty or fifty years ago, in the period preceding the

publication of Carl Rothe's *Wiederholungen*, the mania had become really acute, but the efforts of some of the πρόμαχοι, Kayser, Gemoll, Sittl, Düntzer, and others, are now almost forgotten. Two of Kayser's essays may be referred to. In his *Hom. Abhandlungen*, 75, he enumerates for the Doloneia its *convenientia cum Beotia et caeteris libris in suspicionem vocatis*, and in the same work, 54, commenting on Nestor's story in the end of *A*, which was supposed to be a late 'Odyssean' intrusion, he finds in it imitations of other passages in the poems *plerumque ad verbum factas*, while there is so much difference in the sense *ut saepe illud ridiculi genus nascatur quod parodiae insignitur nomine*. The similarities relied on are far from striking, and the same number of parallels could be detected between any two books of Homer. If such afford ground for condemnation, then *vae Iliadi!* For Sittl's ambitious work on this subject, *Die Wiederholungen in der Odyssee*, I refer to Dr. Monro's examination, in his edition of the last half of the *Odyssey*, pp. 312 f., of the section in which Sittl proves from the repetitions that the Telemachy is a late constituent of the *Odyssey*. The conclusion is rejected, but Monro, pp. 328 ff., found support in other cases cited by Sittl for the view that the *Odyssey imitates the Iliad*. These passages were, however, examined anew in *CQ* vii (1913), 234 ff., with the result that 'there is nothing incompatible with the view that we have the same poet fully availing himself of the epic privilege of repetition.' In chapter xix of *L of D* some allegations of the kind by von Christ and Leaf were considered and rejected. As for Gemoll and Düntzer, their reduction of the method *ad absurdum* will be referred to later.

An extreme form of the mania is to proclaim certain passages or whole books to be mere centos of lines taken from other parts of the poems. Peppmüller essayed to prove that *Ω*, which has been regarded as one of the grand productions of the Greek genius, is a cento. His demonstration was strongly condemned by Römer in his *Ein Dichter und ein Kritiker*. Dr. Leaf, in his Introduction to *Θ*, gives that book the same character, but allows 'it has undoubtedly great spirit and movement,' which, with such an origin, seems a little strange. He goes on to suggest that 'it is such a work as might be expected from the author of the Embassy

in *I*,' and the latter is, *omnium consensu*, a masterpiece. It is absurd enough that a man capable of such work should descend to petty purloining on such a scale, but surely the absurdity is equalled by his success in deceiving the elect by merely cobbling together lines from the work of other bards. On ε, which has been rightly praised as a beautiful lay, but which has also been disparaged as a mere cento, I refer to the excellent statement by Rothe in his *Wiederholungen*, 136 ff. Or take again the Chryseid, as we may call it, *A* 430-92. The case against it is stated by Leaf in his Introduction to *A* and by Hinrichs in *Hermes* xvii (1982), 59ff., and there is a stout defence by Düntzer in his *Hom. Abh.* 190 ff. The episode consists of (1) the voyage to Chryse, (2) Odysseus' announcement to Chryses of the object of his journey, (3) a sacrifice, with, inside the account of it, (4) a prayer by Chryses to the same god to whom he had prayed earlier in the book, asking him now to remove the trouble with which, in his previous prayer, he had besought the god to punish the Greeks, (5) the voyage home, and (6) a brief statement that Achilles continued in wrath by his ships, as Thetis had directed earlier in the book. Of these (1), (3), and (5) are formal and of course the epic *Gemeingut* or commonplace is employed, and (2), (4) and (6) are absolutely immune against suspicion, for they are, to use the words of Merry and Riddell on ε 7, 'intentional recapitulation, in words with which the hearers of the earlier part of the poem are familiar,' and that device is a not unusual feature of the poetry. And that is all that need be said in defence of the repetitions in the Chryseid. Only a critic applying the canons of Hermann, stated in all their absurdity in the note by Merry and Riddell, could find reason to condemn them. Other examples could be given, but it is not worth while, for really almost any book of the poems can be proved to be a cento, aye even a book that is of hoary age, such as *A*. Ellendt in his *Drei Hom. Abh.* 55 ff., has shown at length that there is hardly a line in it for which a parallel cannot be found elsewhere. A mere list of equations is not enough, or *A* is a cento of centos. The procedure is really too trivial for serious consideration. There is no more reason in it than there was in Lauder's attempt to prove that *Paradise Lost*, 'a poem which was the glory and pride of our literature and had given an Englishman a place

beside Homer and Virgil, was nothing but a compilation, an ingenious cento of fragments selected and dovetailed out of the writing of poets known only to the curious' (Churton Collins, *Studies in Poetry and Criticism*, 169 f.).

On a special class of repeated passages, the similes, I can be brief. I refer to my paper *ante*, 'Suspected Flaws in Homeric Similes' The duplicated similes are there considered. As usual we have allegations that the simile is original and suitable in one place, in the other borrowed and, of course, inferior in application. But, as is shown there by a consideration of two doublettes, *Z* 506 ff. and *O* 263 ff. (the horse that has broken loose and gallops over the plain), and *Λ* 548 ff. and *P* 657 ff. (a lion slowly retreating from a fold), the critics cannot agree which is the original and which is the copy, while generally there is so little to go upon that plagiarism can hardly be asserted seriously. And all such allegations of imitation overlook one fact, which is that the Homeric similes have a commonplace of their own.

From this survey of particular phases of the question I turn to a point which, so far as I am aware, has not had attention. Hesiod and the *Hymns*, and the *Cyclics* in scanty fragments, are almost universally held to be later than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Now all this poetry imitates and borrows from the two great epics in greater or less degree. Among the poems attributed to Hesiod the *Aspis* shows this most. Paley remarks in his Introduction to the poem that it is 'to a considerable extent a cento of Homeric phrases and expressions.' Among the *Hymns*, the one to Aphrodite is generally regarded as most dependent on Homer (Sikes and Allen's edition of the *Hymns*, 197), There is an extraordinarily exhaustive dissection in Trueber's *De Hym. in Venerem Homco.* 116 ff. But all these compositions show such dependence in varying amount. In the *Hymns* the parallels with Homer are given in an Appendix to Dunbar's *Concordance to the Odyssey*, and are specified by Messrs. Sikes and Allen, and for Hesiod they are set out below the text in Rzach's edition.

Now in both cases there is this to be noted, that, for all the parallelism, we do not find those irregularities, whether of expression or in the connection and setting, which the critics detect in Homer and by which they are able to assert

the presence of a late imitator or borrower. At any rate I am not aware that any systematic attempt has been made to prove the opposite. The poets who composed the *Hymns* and the Hesiodic poems borrowed and inserted in their own poetry lines and passages from the Homeric epics, without leaving marks by which malfeasance can be asserted. And that characteristic is, after all, what we should expect; such intruders are naturally at pains to leave all smooth, and the theory of meddlers in many generations systematically spoiling and bungling is one that is contrary to reason and experience. Nor does the difficulty disappear if the belief be accepted, as held by some extremists, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or each of them other than a small Ur-poem, were being composed in the same age or ages as the other bodies of poetry now under reference. In that case all the bards must be supposed to have been operating with a common traditional stock of phraseology and commonplace. Yet in the Homeric epics one set of bards used and adapted it in a way to excite the displeasure of critics at the crudeness with which the work is done, while in the other compositions, universally regarded as inferior, no ground for suspicion is apparent.

It is an extraordinary and inexplicable difference, and suggests that the critics are wrong in their explanation of the repetition in the two epics, and that the better one (and one that is consistent with what we know of early poetry generally) is to accept one poet repeating himself freely and careless of a little incongruity, provided he could use familiar matter. Of course if this incongruity were of the dimensions which the critics assert, that is, if we could accept all the irregularities which they point out, it would be difficult to infer one poet with such a mania for spoiling his own handiwork. But that is just where they fail. When the passages get fair treatment, very little irregularity can be asserted, and that modicum can be so characterized only if the critics' personal feeling and taste on various points are to be trusted. von Christ himself admits, *Homer oder Homeriden*[2], 103, that it is often difficult to affirm that the less suitable use of an expression is to be attributed to a *Nachdichter*. Homer had as little reverence for rules of syntax as Shakespeare had, but much of the apparent occasional neglect is due to the fact that he had

to fit his language to a verse the structure of which was carefully regulated. For this effect of metre see Meylan-Faure, *Les Épithètes dans Homère* 8, quoting Düntzer, *Hom. Abh.* 517 ff. See also *L of D* 53. But if necessary, a little metrical irregularity could be tolerated in order to accommodate familiar matter to the verse. And so also for the *Unebenheiten* generally which the critics expose. On these the *locus classicus* is Rothe's treatise on the *Widersprüche.* They are there classified and explained, and it is shown how natural all appear when we reflect that we are dealing with a poet of an early age with an individuality of his own. The awkwardness of *stümperhaft* meddlers is a poor explanation of the phenomena.

Naber said, *QH* 210: *Homerus non tam pauper fuit ingenio ut bis diceret idem.* The dictum reflects the modern view. But a certain monotony of repetition is characteristic of early poetry. See Filipsky, *Das Stehende Beiwort im Volksepos*, 21, and Buschkiel, *De Polyonymia Homeri*, 17, who says the epic poet in his painting prefers taking familiar colours from his store to mixing new ones. Tolkiehn, *Homer und die Römische Poesie*, 67 ff. contrasts the ways of Homer and Vergil in their Catalogues of the Ships. Homer repeats over and over again his forms of words introducing the ships and peoples; Vergil, with the feeling of a later and a literary age against the monotonous use of stock phraseology, varies the wording. The bard of an early day is naïve and unthinking and uninfluenced by such considerations. They have never occurred to him or to his audience or public. The literary artist, on the other hand, loves variety and originality. He fears the imputation that he is *pauper ingenio.*

But even he cannot help himself. In my paper in the *CW* references are given to essays which demonstrate that the best writers repeat themselves freely. I will add here one such which has become known to me since I wrote. It is *De Ovidii Metamorphosesin Edendis*, by J. J. Hartman, *Mnemosyne* xviii (1890), 164 ff., and I quote what he says on the point: *Omnino poeta τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. Vere innumeri versus sunt, locutiones, formulae, quae in Metamorohosesin plus semel ponantur.* He affirms *locorum παραλλήλων numerum apud Ovidium multo maiorem esse quam apud omnes omnium aetatum poetas, Homero excepto.* But what is even more impor-

tant for present purposes, he shows that Ovid often has a verse, or part of a verse, or some *loquendi formulam* perfectly apt in one place, while in another the same words are less suitable and even at times can be called *languida et subabsurda!* To make but a mild inference from this and other examples, surely we may say that, before we have resort for an explanation of repetitions in Homer to a host of borrowing and imitative interpolators, we should admit the possibility of one poet repeating himself both consciously and unconsciously, and not over-careful in the former case whether the matter already used is quite as apt in its new place. Can we, in a word, deny as a possibility in Homer what is a reality in Ovid, Vergil, Horace, and many others? In short, writers, even the greatest, who write much, borrow from themselves, and we cannot insist with any show of reason that Homer was exceptional in this matter. At any rate here is one explanation of the repetitions that cannot be excluded from consideration.

The method by repetitions surely proves too much. If it be applied only as comparatively moderate critics such as von Christ and Sittl apply it, the poems are reduced to fragments; apply it as the more extreme Dissectors use it and the epics are resolved into dust. As interpolation, addition, and imitation are supposed to have continued for centuries, a horde of operators has to be postulated, and these not the flower of the bards in these long ages but apparently a crowd of incompetent poetasters. Everywhere in the poems is traced a' wretched duffer in the poetic art,' or the 'bungling' or 'the vulgar mind' of the *Redactor*. The terms are Jelinek's in his *Hom. Untersuchgn.* 1. Everything that does not please a critic is, as Friedländer says, *Schicksale der Hom. Poesie*, 233, ascribed to 'incapable rhapsodes and botchers.' And after all this we have the *unus color* and the *mirificus concentus* which even Wolff himself admired!

Dissectors of the poems often protest that we must not seek to damage their case for multiple authorship by dwelling unduly on the extraordinary diversity of their results. Professor Murray tells us, *RGE*[3], p. v, that this weakness indicates 'not that the method is faulty but that the available evidence is insufficient.' As regards repetitional enterprise at least, no one ever heard of a Dissector complaining of a

lack of matter to work upon. And as regards the quality of their method, what are we to say when we contemplate some of the conclusions they arrive at? For example, Gemoll proves by means of the repetitions that *K* is later than the *Odyssey*, and Düntzer proves, by the same method, that the *Odyssey* is later than *K*; and I think I have proved, always by the same method—see chapter xiv of *L of D*—that *K* is earlier than a great part of the *Iliad*. There is surely on all this showing some ground for questioning the soundness of the method.

Or take another case that suggests a similar inference. There are a number of stock repetitions over which the fight has always been fierce. One of these is *K* 243 f. and *α* 65 f., for which see *CQ* iv (1910), 75. Out of fifteen authorities nine favour *K* as the original, and six *α*. If a number of scholars of standing, all of whom are agreed that there is imitation by the one book or the other, are at the end of a long period of years in such a state of hopeless disagreement, surely we are entitled to say that a method which fails to establish the priority *which all are sure can be proved* is useless and should be abandoned. And other instances of a similar nature could be adduced.

I may be told by those not familiar with current Homeric literature that I am only setting up a bogy to have the pleasure of demolishing it. It will be said that the Dissecting Homerist of the present day cannot possibly be so foolish as to rely on such a means of pulling down and reconstructing the poems. Unfortunately that disclaimer is not so by any means. If reference be made to recent treatises such as the works of Wilamowitz and Bethe on both epics or Schwartz's *Die Odyssee*, the method will be found in full play. All through these treatises lines or passages are, with little or no reason, adjudged to be copied or borrowed. It is convenient to the argument. The first item in the *Textkritische Bemerkungen* in Schwartz's book, p. 301, runs, '*α* 21 = *ζ* 331 is wrongly transferred here from the interpolation in the end of *ζ*, which in its turn is modelled on *ν* 342 and *α* 20. Such a *Hin und Her*,' he adds, 'is very usual in the *Odyssey*,' and of course easily discoverable when required! Or, to give another example which can be tested, Wilamowitz in his *Die Ilias und Homer* reprints with little alteration his paper

Ueber das Θ der Ilias (1910). The case against Θ depends partly on borrowings, and these were examined passage by passage in *CP* vi 39 ff.[1] They are a quite futile collection.

In conclusion, the student who is not in close touch with Homeric criticism should mark this fact. He will frequently find it stated in works such as those just referred to, that such and such a passage has been suspected or shown to be late by some authority. That procedure is a convenient way of setting aside what militates against the thesis of the moment; but all I would say of it here is that, if the student will be at pains to investigate for himself the proof of lateness in any particular case, the chances are great that one element in the demonstration is free maltreatment of the repetitions observable. If the evidence so procured and that which depends on the personal appreciation or taste of the condemning critic be deducted from the proof, there is often little enough left to the discredit of a passage.

The repetitional method ignores a patent characteristic of early poetry and involves the fallacy of assuming imitation as a necessary consequence of similarities observed. Few have the leisure to make a comprehensive survey for themselves, but anyone who can make it will leave it with the conviction that, rightly appreciated, the repetitions are good evidence of unity.

[1] See pp. 360 ff. *ante*.

SECTION VII

MISCELLANEOUS

TELEMACHUS AT SPARTA

CJ XXII (1926)

It has often been argued that there is a serious discrepancy in the chronology of the *Odyssey*. Telemachus leaves Sparta after a very short stay of two nights and a day, and returns to Ithaka, where he meets his father, who, according to the narrative, is only a few days out from Ogygia, and has still many days to sail before reaching Scheria. To make the two parts of the narrative tally, Telemachus should have stayed about a month at Sparta, but the poet does not say he did. But neither does the poet expressly say that Telemachus left Sparta after a very brief visit. That being so, we must gather, if we can, from the rest of the poem what was in the poet's mind, that is, whether he meant the short or the much longer stay. I wish to urge, for reasons that follow, that the latter was intended.

1. In the first place, we see from the data in the poem that Telemachus could have accomplished the journey to Sparta and back, allowing a day and a night with Nestor, a day and a night to and at Pherae each way, and a day and two nights with Menelaus at Sparta, in six days and seven nights. But from his warning to Eurykleia, β 373 (and cf. Eurykleia herself, δ 747 f.), not to tell Penelope till the 11th or 12th day, or till she should ask about him, it is clear that the poet represents him as contemplating a much more leisurely trip. It is not straining the effect of the passage to say that Telemachus meant to be absent for substantially more than 11 or 12 days. It is true the line has a formal ring—it recurs δ 588, and cf. τ 192—but the numbers, which are, like others, favourites with the poet, must have some relation to the probable length of the youth's absence, and could not have

been put into his mouth if he were to be away only about half the time indicated.

2. The terms in which Telemachus asks, and obtains, the permission of Menelaus to return home, point the same way, *o* 65 f., *ἤδη νῦν ἀπόπεμπε . . . ἤδη γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐέλδεται οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι*. Surely the repeated *ἤδη* may be taken to mean that he had before this suggested that his pleasant stay had lasted long enough. If he had not, why *ἤδη* at all? And surely the emphatic *ἤδη νῦν* means that he had been in Sparta a considerable time. Compare the use of the same words in the prayer of Chryses to Apollo to stay the plague, *A* 456, *ἤδη νῦν* after the ten days of the Achaeans' sufferings, and in *κ* 472, where the followers of Odysseus press him to leave Kirke, *ἤδη νῦν*, after a stay of a whole year. In considering the effect of *ἤδη* it may be well to bear in mind what Ebeling, *s.v.*, says of the notion of *eo perventum est* which frequently inheres in the word. Cf. Kühner-Gerth, ii, 120, *jetzt, mit vergleichender Rücksicht auf eine andere Zeit.*

3. In *π* 365 ff. Antinoos describes to the Wooers who had stayed at home the proceedings of himself and followers when in ambush for Telemachus at Asteris. They had left Ithaka about the 6th day after the departure of Telemachus, and it is evident from the statement of their leader that they had spent some time at the islet. Note besides the imperfects, the *ἤματα*, *αἰέν* and *οὔποτ'*. The poet who wrote the passage was not thinking of the absence of Telemachus as one of a week or so, for he makes him and Antinoos and crew arrive back at Ithaka the same day. Telemachus had certainly been away six days plus those of the ambush at Asteris.

4. When Athené proceeded to Sparta to bid Telemachus return, it is said, *o* 2 f., that she went, *Ὀδυσσῆος . . . υἱὸν νόστου ὑπομνήσουσα καὶ ὀτρυνέουσα νέεσθαι*. Why should the poet use such language if Telemachus had been in Sparta only a day and two nights and was finishing his stay? And why the *ἀλλ' ὄτρυνε τάχιστα . . . Μενέλαον πεμπέμεν*, 14 f.? Indeed what necessity was there for Athené's intervention at all? But this is all quite consistent with the supposition that Telemachus had stayed on, at the request of his pressing host and loth to exchange the luxury of Sparta for the discomforts of Ithaka. Was he likely to believe that the 'momentous change in his affairs' at Ithaka

—as Mure describes it—which Athené invented to induce him to return home, had occurred in the course of two or three days? Would not the poet have put a very different reason in Athené's mouth, if he were making her procure the departure of Telemachus after a stay of less than two days?

5. That the poet was giving Telemachus a pleasant time with Menelaus, and not bringing him home at once, seems clear from ν 421 ff., where Athené tells Odysseus he is not to worry about his son, who is quite comfortable in Sparta—ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος ἧσται ἐν Ἀτρεΐδαο δόμοις, παρὰ δ' ἄσπετα κεῖται. Menelaus was entreating his old friend's son right kindly, and it is no wonder the youth stayed on. Could such language have been used of him if his stay had been all but the shortest possible? The verb ἧμαι is significant. It is the very one used by Telemachus himself, δ 596, when he says he would be delighted, if he could, to stay for a year, ἀνεχοίμην ἥμενος. For its use of a very prolonged sojourn, see κ 468, Ω 542, and γ 263.

6. Draheim observes, *Die Odyssee als Kunstwerk*, 97, how 'unfriendly' the remark of Menelaus to Telemachus, ο 68 ff., about speeding the parting guest would be after a day and a half of that guest's visit, and how much more appropriate after a month. To accept as part of the poet's scheme what might seem to be a hint to Telemachus to leave, is to accept a blot on the story which is not in the Homeric way.

7. Then if we turn to Ithaka, the indications are to the same effect. Reading the welcome of Telemachus by Eumaeus, π 14 ff., including the simile from the reception by a father of a beloved son after an absence of ten years, one finds it hard to understand such a demonstration of delight if Telemachus, to whose infrequent visits he was accustomed, 27, had been away less than a week. So for the inquiry by Telemachus that immediately follows, 31 ff., whether his mother is still at home, or has married and left Odysseus' bed to be smothered in cobwebs. And finally, the description, 139 ff., of the distress of Laertes, who could not have heard of the absence of Telemachus and the plot against his life before the day, about the sixth of his grandson's absence, when Penelope was informed by the herald Medon. She had, δ 735 ff., wished to inform him at once, but was dissuaded by Eurykleia. It is possible, indeed pro-

bable, that in his seclusion he might not have heard for some time, and the words of Eumaeus imply that his distress was of some standing.

There thus appears to be good ground for the belief that the poet has the long stay in his mind from first to last. It has now to be seen what ground there is for the opposite view. In the first place it is said that Telemachus, when Menelaus pressed him to stay, declined, and this has been said even by critics who are far from ascribing deadly effect to small discrepancies. But it must be emphasized that there is no express refusal in the words of Telemachus. It can only be in the first words of his reply, rendered by Butcher and Lang, 'Son of Atreus, nay, hold me not long time (*πολὺν χρόνον*) here.' But in his polite protestation that he could not make a *long* visit, there is nothing to forbid the inference that he was willing, whether with or without further pressure, to stay on for the time being. And surely we may say the effect of the whole dialogue on reader or hearer is that it is at least as likely that Telemachus will yield and continue his visit, as that he will tear himself away from very delightful society. As Miss Stawall observes, *Homer and the Iliad*, 121, 'that a visitor should talk of going and still stay on is no unusual phenomenon'; certainly not when the host is as kindly as host could be—*τυχὼν φιλότητος ἀπάσης*, *o* 158, is the guest's own description—the hostess charming beyond compare, and everything else in the highest degree attractive, especially when contrasted, in Miss Stawell's words, with 'the hateful scenes in Ithaka.'

Next, much has been made of the report of his journey by Telemachus to his mother, *ρ* 108 ff. It is a brief statement, ending *ταῦτα τελευτήσας νεόμην*, and it has been said that it was 'impossible for Telemachus so to speak if he had stayed a long time at Sparta.' But we must consider the circumstances. I think Professor Mackail's view, *Penelope and the Odyssey*, 12, is a reasonable one. 'Telemachus tells the story of his voyage rather briefly, hurriedly and constrainedly,' and he finds in that 'a wonderful psychological touch.' The young man had much, indeed very much, on his mind. There was first his recent escape from death, *φυγόντι περ αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον*, *ρ* 47—his own words. Next he has to brace himself for the *ἄεθλος ἀάατος* that was now

in near prospect. And lastly, he has just come to know that his father is alive and in fact following him to the palace. With this newly acquired knowledge he naturally would not wish to give his mother the opportunity of questioning him closely. He had already evaded her, ρ 44 ff. We need not then be surprised that the poet does not put in his mouth a fully detailed statement. That, as is urged, the two lines beginning with ταῦτα τελευτήσας have already occurred δ 585 f., is of no significance to those to whom repetition is not a sure sign of plagiarism. There is no reason for suspicion. On the other hand it may be noted that τελευτάω, said to be objectionable for the conciseness it imports into the statement of Telemachus, is just the word used by Athené in α 293, and β 275, 280, when she was urging him to travel in search of news of his father.

It has also been urged that the crew of Telemachus say not a word about their long detention at Pylos while he was enjoying himself at Sparta. But must the poet be required to tell us everything the dramatis personae ought to do or say on every occasion? Is no liberty as to choice of incidents to be allowed him? But reference is made to δ 593 f., where Telemachus tells Menelaus his men are—already after two or three days—growing impatient, ἀνιάζουσιν ἑταῖροι ἐν Πύλῳ. So they must have remonstrated with him when they saw him after nearly a month. But how can we take the remark of Telemachus seriously? He could not possibly *know* that his men were chafing; the utmost we can read into his words is that they might be beginning to be tired of waiting. But would they be? They were not an ordinary crew. They were of those οἳ κατὰ δῆμον ἀριστεύουσι, δ 652 and 666, they went with him φιλότητι, γ 363, they were to be rewarded with a feast, ο 506 f., and their kindly feeling to their king's son may be judged from his conversation with Peiraios, ο 539–46. And more than that, if they knew anything about the length of time they were to be away, it would be from Telemachus, and he, as we have seen, contemplated an absence of something more than eleven or twelve days. How then could they be showing impatience already over his short absence at Sparta? Telemachus, in his mention of them, is simply making a polite excuse for not accepting his host's invitation offhand.

Again it has been remarked, as long ago by Rhode in his Programm on ρ, that there is no mention of the long stay either in π or ρ, although there is abundant opportunity. But there was also opportunity for many things that find no place in those books. What should be shown is that there were special opportunities, and that these were neglected. It is really the old unreasonable objection once more to the poet's telling his story in his own way. In the present case it is enough to reply that if the poet had, as we have seen, good reason for believing, the prolonged stay in his mind as part of his story, it is just one of the points which, as familiar to himself, he might easily assume to be apparent to reader or hearer, and so not requiring special mention.

The advice of Nestor to Telemachus, γ 313 ff., not to stay away from home for a long time (δηθά), is also pointed to. The answer is that advice is not a command, that we do not know what period of time Nestor's δηθά may mean, and that we have to reckon with the kind insistence of Menelaus and the delight of his society (δ 595 ff.) and the surroundings.

And once more, it is said on p. 195 of Hennings's original paper on the Telemachy in *Rhein. Mus.* for 1858 that Telemachus could not possibly prolong his visit, for ο 8 and 90 show *wie sehr Telemachos hofft* that his father would soon be home from Ogygia. One line says his μελεδήματα πατρός kept him awake, as they had no doubt often done, and the other that he was πατέρ' ἀντίθεον διζήμενος. How an argument can be based on this, combined with what Menelaus had told him, δ 551 ff., for a belief on the youth's part that his father was about to return, and that he himself must go back to Ithaka at once, it is hard to see.

The result seems to be that we are justified, on the material available in the text of the *Odyssey*, in believing that the poet's intention from the first was that Telemachus was to spend some time on his travels, and that the requirement that this should be explicitly stated in the poem is an infringement of the liberty of its creator. The poet has his own ways, and of recent years Drerup, Belzner and Stürmer, and others have been tracing these out, and showing how apparent irregularities of various kinds can be solved *aus dem primitiven Schaffen des Dichters*, without having recourse to theories, more or less disruptive, of the construction of the

epic as we have it. And the question, which has been asked before, may be repeated here—What reconstruction of the poem is more free from difficulty than the poem as we have it? And, granting there is not clearness in the chronology, and that this must be followed by unfavourable conclusions, what of other literary works known to be those of a single author? To take but one instance, what of the *Aeneid*? But I need not dilate on what has been written about discrepancies, chronological and other, by Mure, Heinze, and others. Such mistakes are committed by authors, even by great writers, and that is all and enough to be said. *Ungeschicklichkeit*, as Seeck observes, *Quellen*, 216, is not the monopoly of the *Bearbeiter* fraternity. On such chronological difficulties in the *Odyssey*, if they exist, it is surely sufficient to say in the words of Hentze quoted by Blass, *Interpolationen*, 17 n. that they are *nur für den Arithmetiker, nicht für den epischen Sänger*.

HOMER AND RECENT DISCOVERIES[1]

CW XV (1921)

THE scope of this paper will appear as I proceed. But let me say at the outset that we may regard it as a good omen, that it has chanced that the first paper to be read from this chair should be devoted to Homer. To the Greeks Homer was first in several ways. He was, as indeed he is to ourselves, at the beginning of literature. He was the *fons perennis*, the fountainhead of inspiration for all bards; he was the foundation of all knowledge and wisdom. Education must begin with the poems as an encyclopedia of all the arts, and the model for all accomplishment in letters. I think a short Education Act of one Greek State made that compulsory. So that we are in a manner following ancient precedent when we say with Quintilian, *nos rite coepturi ab Homero*. It is good for us to make a beginning with Homer.

Up to about half a century ago, say the year 1870, when I was graduating in Aberdeen, Homeric study was largely occupied with what is to be found, as the saying is, between the two boards of the book. But, leaving the substance of the poems, a lecturer on the epic might have gone on to trace their influence on all European literature, to compare them with other heroic poetry, and even to deal with the heroic age generally as a stage in national development. And he could not have avoided the great Homeric Question. But other phases of the study that are familiar to us hardly existed for him. It is of these new extensions that I propose to speak.

In 1870 the great controversy as to the age and the authorship of the poems was in full blast, and it has continued

[1]Read, as a Presidential Address, to the St. Andrews Branch of The Classical Association of Scotland.

to rage ever since. But I am not going to trouble you with any account of it; I only use it as a starting-point. You know the main issue, whether these poems are the work of one poetic genius, or of many minds elaborating them through long ages, and you also know that Dr. Walter Leaf, the distinguished author of a large critical edition of the Iliad, has in the past been one of the leading advocates in this country of the methods, peculiarly German, by which the poems have been dissected into fragments. He has now, in a remarkable palinode, when demitting office as President of the Hellenic Society, formally abjured these methods as 'obsolete and harmful,' and has condemned German Homeric Scholarship as 'hopelessly effete and sterile.' And he goes on to suggest a better means of solving the Homeric problem. We are to confront Homer with what he calls the 'realities of life' as discovered by the geographer and the archaeologist. It is my purpose this afternoon to consider some of these realities, and to see what is their special interest for the student of Homer.

Three influences have combined since the opening of the present century to bring these realities of the ancient Greek world into prominence. First, renewed study of the Homeric Catalogues of the Greek and the Trojan forces, resulting in their rescue from the slough of contempt in which German criticism had immersed them, has confirmed the truth of the Homeric geography. For one thing, and it is worth bearing in mind in regard to the Greek Catalogue, this earliest of all descriptions of Greece has been proved to apply exactly to the Myceanean world, as that world has been restored to us by excavation.

The second influence was the publication by a French scholar and explorer, M. Victor Bérard, of a very delightful work on the *Odyssey*, in which he showed how much reality there is in the travels of the hero of that poem. These have been familiar to us all from childhood as wanderings in Wonderland. M. Bérard, on the contrary, shows that at any rate most of them took place, not in that extramundane sphere, but in the world of fact, and that again has helped to establish the truth and the actuality of the Homeric record.

The third influence is the archaeological; it is the most important of the three. In 1870 there would have been

questions for our imaginary lecturer such as these: Was the poet describing a real world, whether he knew it as his own environment, or only by tradition? And if it was real, how was it to be dated with reference to what we know of Greek history? And he would have found it hard to answer because, until shortly after that year, our knowledge of Greece went back only to the eighth century before Christ. Beyond that all was darkness, with myth and legend instead of records, and history for Greece had not begun.

That has all been changed by the excavations of Schliemann, Evans, and others, but the significance of the resulting revolution in our knowledge of classical antiquity is perhaps not realized as fully as it should be. It would be too much to say that it is to be placed beside other great events in world history which are styled epoch-making, but let us at least reflect that our concern is with the Mediterranean and the countries about its eastern waters. There was the cradle in which all ancient civilization was nursed, and in which our modern culture and our religion originated. The importance of the results of the exploration of these regions is thus clear. It is just this—that there are many things in our present-day civilization which we cannot properly understand without examining its growth, and the first step to that end is obviously the study of its birth in the Mediterranean area.

The archaeologist, in extending our knowledge of Greece and things Greek by many centuries, has furnished us with much information about the great Minoan power, known to us before only by vague tradition, with its capital at Knossos in Crete, with wide dominion, and with settlements even in remote parts of the Western Mediterranean. It has a high civilization, with an art which exhibits, to quote from a recent work, 'an originality, power and taste which in several respects will bear comparison with the art of Greece at its best period.' Trade, commerce, and navigation are active, timber and copper being to it what coal and iron have been to us. It is an island empire like our own, with unfortified towns, and depending for protection on its fleet. In the fifteenth century B.C.—1450 seems now to be the favourite date—it is crushed, the Minoan Age ends, and power in some way, not finally ascertained, passes from Crete to

Mycenae on the mainland of Greece. Then begins the Mycenaean Age, and it lasts till the eleventh century, after which comes the real but now gradually contracting Dark Age of Greece. But the fascinating story of the Crete of Minos and that of Mycenae can be read in many familiar manuals. My purpose is to gather some of the results that flow from the discoveries in the Aegean, and from the more intensive study of the geography of very ancient Greece.

One of these is that the Homeric arena is seen to be just the Greek world, though perhaps not so populous, which was the scene of those dramas which Herodotus and Thucydides afterwards presented to their readers. You have first Greece itself with the coasts and the islands of the Aegean. This was the known, the well-known world. But there was another sphere in the Western Mediterranean, and it is there that the adventures of Odysseus are placed, It is true that the mariners of Crete had sailed West, even as far as Italy, as early, so Sir Arthur Evans assures us, as the fourth millennium B.C., but these western seas were not familiarly known, especially after the Cretan power had declined. They were thus a suitable locale wherein to place the Great Wanderings, which, if we except some obviously fairy features which the poet has woven into his narrative, are based on the information, vague of course and no doubt often exaggerated and even deliberately distorted, brought by shipmen who had had experience of the less civilized peoples of the West.

That is all that time permits me to say of Homer's world. As regards the life that was lived in it there has been a problem—to reconcile and correlate the culture described in the poems with the civilization uncovered by the spade, and that has not been easy, but Sir Arthur Evans can now say that the life which Homer depicts may be as early as the close of the Mycenaean period. The point for us is that the Homeric life is seen to have been a real life in a real world, and it is a point for young Homeric students to mark. As Sir William Ramsay recently put it, 'the poems are only a fragment taken out of the Tale of Troy for his own purpose' —Homer's purpose as a poet—'but under and behind them is a vast basis of history and religion and adventure and voyage and trade and war.' The epic in fact gives us the very age and body of the time. It exhibits a world in action, a

world in its vigorous youth, and that is why some have claimed that Homer is the only true epic poet in all literature. His is an epic of national life and high emprise.

I will take one aspect of the life, the commerce. We now know how ancient and active it was. You may, if you please, see nothing in the voyages of Jason and Theseus to the Black Sea, or in the adventures of Herakles outside the Mediterranean, but the demonstrations of the archaeologist are not to be disregarded. We read them with surprise, but he soothes our incredulity with the assurance that we are to forget the 'unplumbed estranging sea' of which the poets speak, and believe with him that 'of all geographical impediments to intercourse the sea is the least effective.' The long voyages of the Polynesians in mere canoes are often referred to in illustration. Ages before Homeric days the Minoans of Crete traded with Egypt and Libya, with Spain in the West, and perhaps with the Black Sea in the East. The *Odyssey*, as interpreted by Bérard, shows us how this intercourse was carried on, and nothing in his book is more striking than his demonstration that the Sailing Directions—so to call them —in this old poem are almost identical verbally with the Instructions issued by the Admiralties of our day for the guidance of the naval and mercantile marine of Europe. And this navigation was active in spite of the smallness of the craft, the perils of the sea, and the dangers from piracy, though possibly these last had been, as tradition asserts, diminished or suppressed by the Cretan warships. And here there is another parallel with our own country. Just as Minos made the seas safe for his mercantile marine, so has Britain suppressed, in her own and the general interest, piracy, the slave-trade and gun-running in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the China Seas. Let me cite yet another parallel between the ancient days and modern Europe. You remember that the *Odyssey* shows that piracy was a not discreditable occupation. It is spoken of as quite an ordinary means of amassing wealth. Compare then the Vikings of Scandinavia, who went on their 'summer-ledings' for part of the year, and during the rest of it led the lives of quiet, respectable country gentlemen.

The traffic by land is of equal interest. Again it startles us to hear that in that age there were long trade routes for the

conveyance of caravans of goods. There was one from Central Asia to Northern Italy, another across Europe by which amber came down from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and yet another from Asia Minor up through Troy and on to Serbia. Think of the mountains and the rivers, the forests and the marshes and the barren wastes that barred the way. Yet trade there was, and the explanation, strange as it may seem, appears to have been—blackmail. Rulers who were, in origin at least, only robber chiefs, established strongholds, what in modern Turkey are called *dervendjis*, at which they levied dues, and in return helped and protected the trade which it was their interest to encourage as a source of gain. Mycenae itself, that great grim fortress, was only a big toll-house in the mountains, and it made the foreigner pay, as our genteel expression is, by squeezing taxes out of the trade between East and West. The lords of Mycenae and Corinth, as I believe, prevented traffic from crossing the Isthmus and compelled it to pass Mycenae and pay toll. We are all familiar with the name of one of these rulers, Sisyphus. Homer says of him, κέρδιστος γένετ' ἀνδρῶν, which R. L. Stevenson would, I suppose, have translated, 'he was the howlingest cheese for trickery that ever lived.' You remember he cheated Death himself, and, when they did get him settled in Hades, he escaped, but was caught and condemned to force up a hill a stone that ever rolled down again. But what is not so well known is that the punishment fitted one of his cruel amusements on earth, which was to hurl rocks down the hills of the Isthmus on travellers using the narrow way below. I suggest that we may have here, embedded in the myth, an embargo on traffic, cruder no doubt than the expedients employed by modern nations for the capture of one another's commerce, to force traders to use the route that best suited the lord of the Isthmus.

I turn from commerce to war, to that famous war against Troy which was the great heroic achievement of early Greece. In the two epics we have the whole story—the origin of the war, the preliminary negotiations, the gathering of the clans, the course of the war, the capture of Troy, and the return of the chiefs to their homes. Formerly this renowned tale was to many scholars mere myth or moonshine. Troy

had never existed. Helen was the Dawn, Penelope the Clouds, and Odysseus the Sun or the Moon.

We can now take a different view. Homeric Troy is there, as Schliemann when a boy told his father it *must* be. And the war itself, 'that laid old Troy in ashes,' is accepted as a struggle between East and West that actually took place, that may have begun at an even earlier period, and that may be said to be ending only now. The dismantling of the Gallipoli fortifications that was commenced a few months ago was the opening of the last scene in the last act of a drama which began when the good ship *Argo*—famous already in Homer's day, for he says she was in all men's mouths—burst through the Straits and into the silent sea beyond. The great expedition from Achaeis came later, the ultimate compelling cause being then as now economic. I recently saw it concisely stated in enormous letters of blood, the better to make one's flesh creep, on the contents bill of a newspaper at a railway station—'Dearer Bread and Butter.' Greece wanted more and cheaper grain and olives. But scholars of repute are willing to believe that the abduction of an Achaean princess was, as Homer sings, the immediate cause, just as the immediate cause of our Great War and its 'woes unnumbered' (including dear bread and butter and all else) was the murder of an Austrian prince.

But, further, the main event, the culmination of the enterprise or series of enterprises in the overthrow of the power that barred the Dardanelles—a name that in its origin goes far beyond Homer—is now known to have taken place just when the ancients said it did, towards the close of the twelfth century. The year 1184 B.C. for the fall of Troy used to be one which we respected about as little as 4,004, but now it is practically accepted. The evidence has been brought together and examined with a wealth of knowledge in a very remarkable paper by Messrs. Frost and Myres, published in the Leipzig periodical *Klio*, early in the recent Great War, and entitled 'The Historical Background of the Trojan War.' I read it myself, if you will excuse the expression, with a chuckle. Many years ago, in his Homeric Synchronism, Gladstone compared a fictitious expedition to Egypt, described by Odysseus in the *Odyssey* when disguised as a beggar, with a coalition from the North against an Egyptian

king which is an historical fact, and he argued that, if that coalition was in the poet's mind when he wrote the passage, here was obviously an important link between the Egypt of history and the Greece of the epic. His argument, which somehow appealed to me as a mere tyro, probably got no attention, for his Homeric Studies were, as I once saw it in the *Athenaeum*, the 'Punch' of Oxford reading men in those days. But see how the whirligig of Time brings in his revenges. You will find in the paper I have mentioned exactly the same argument on similar data, though naturally Egyptology has made these more abundant now. The old *Φιλόμηρος* was right.

In regard to this great central fact, then, Homer has been vindicated. But we know he is true to life in many another detail, for these discoveries enable us to see many a Homeric thing, and indeed many a Homeric scene, with our own eyes. A big two-handled cup that has been found answers exactly to the description in the *Iliad* of the jug in which a refreshing posset was brewed for Nestor, back from the fighting on the plain. Gems have been found which show us how the Homeric encounters with lions were fought. The scene on the famous shield of Achilles in which the battlements of a beleaguered city are manned by the old men, the women, and the boys, when all the men able to bear arms have gone out to meet the enemy, is depicted on a fragment of a silver vase, and the exquisite description of a dance, in which youths and maidens now whirl about in a circle with the smoothness of a potter's wheel, and now break into lines and advance to meet each other, may well, we are told, have been suggested to the poet by a fresco which adorns an inner wall of the palace at Knossos.

There is vindication in another direction; there is much confirmation of tradition, even of old legends, of which Greece has a larger stock than most countries. These apparently idle tales have been found, many of them, to have a core of truth which has been overlaid by spurious accretion, but the addition has not destroyed, it has only served to preserve, this nucleus. The recovery of these particles of fact is a fascinating task, but of course must not be pushed too far. Sisyphus has already afforded one little example, and the Trojan War is itself an outstanding instance. I will add

yet another, and a very informing one. We have all read in Kingsley's *Heroes* the story of Minos, king of Crete, whose 'ships are as the sea-gulls' and whose 'palace is like a marble hall,' and of Theseus and Ariadne and the Labyrinth and the Minotaur. We now have it from the archaeologist that every item in the tale has its origin in real life. Some day it may be proved that some knowledge of aeronautics is implicit in the tale of Daedalus and the wings he made for his son. It may even be discovered that the legend of the giant Talus, who patrolled the coasts of Crete and who could make himself red-hot to invaders, conceals some means devised by the Minoan Government to supplement the sure shield which it possessed in its grand fleet.

But, if these discoveries confirm, they also correct, confounding the wisdom of some of our older scholars. For example, there is a book by a German, Victor Hehn, on the wanderings of plants and animals from their home in Asia to Greece and Italy. It is crammed with erudition and it achieved a great reputation. But the editor of the eighth edition has had to point out that the archaeologist has now rendered many of the conclusions nugatory. We forget all speculations as to the lateness of the introduction of the olive into Europe, when we see the tree figured on a Cretan sarcophagus and find the stones of the fruit. The same may be said of the cat, which appears as a sign in certain Cretan writing. The dove, instead of reaching Greece in 500 B.C., was there at least as far back as the year 2000. Or consider the question of writing. You remember the 'baleful signs' mentioned in *Iliad* vi and the dispute there was over the question whether writing was known in Homer's age. It has now been ascertained that writing was familiar at a far earlier date. In Crete pottery was inscribed 'in a running hand' with reed pen and ink centuries before, and in Egypt 'a rapid form of writing on jars' was known at a still earlier period. The old discussions have become antiquated, and we hear with amazement that it was our old biblical friends, the Philistines, the Philistines of all people, whose name is in these days a synonym for the uncultured, who took the Cretan script to Palestine, where Phoenicians adopted and modified it, and transmitted it to Europe. And Europe, Professor Sayce tells us, had a narrow escape from something worse. There was a time when

the cuneiform script was within an ace of becoming predominant in the world. Our corruption of the Phoenician characters in our daily correspondence is often weird enough, but apparently it is thought that with cuneiform we should have achieved even greater prodigies of illegibility.

Another point of interest is the modernness of much that has been discovered. Who could have dreamt, for instance, that anything approaching the style of female attire in these days of ours had ever before existed under the sun? Yet the Cretan frescoes display ladies of the period dressed in fashions, and with a verve, that extort from a Frenchman the exclamation that they are 'vraies Parisiennes.' They show us, in yellow, purple, and blue as the prevailing colours, pleated skirts, zouave jackets, pinched waists—probably, says an Italian authority, produced by stays—and elaborate hairdressing and high-heeled shoes. There seems to have been a pretty taste in what our audaciously illustrated papers flaunt before our gaze as *lingerie*. At Tiryns, again, as we see from a wall-painting, ladies drove out to the hunt and were in at the death. In fact, in the words of one writer, 'there was an open and easy association of men and women unparalleled till our own day.' The Italian savant I have just quoted describes the Minoan kitchen apparatus as 'full of ingenious contrivances, including a pot specially adapted for slow boiling.' The drainage system of the great palace was based on an accurate knowledge of hydraulics, and was such as was never again equalled in Europe for about three thousand years, i.e. till the close of the eighteenth century of our own era—and you know from Aristophanes and other authors what the *in*sanitation of Athens in her prime was, a thousand years after the heyday of Crete, not to come down to our neighbour, 'the modern Athens,' and the horrors of 'gardyloo.' Dr. Wace has recently told us how, as the result of further excavation at Mycenae, an astonishing system of wells, drains and cisterns has been discovered there. This helps us—here is confirmation of tradition again—to appreciate a not otherwise readily comprehensible story about Agamemnon recorded by Eustathius, who says that Agamemnon 'is represented as having taken delight in the digging of wells.' 'Perhaps,' says an authority, 'Agamemnon

maintained the artificial water-supply supposed to be implied in the story of Danaos and the Danaids.'

But we need not go to the archaeologist for proof of this modernness. Careful reading of the Classics, even of a poet as old as Homer, should suffice, if we bear in mind the dictum of Sir Richard Jebb, that one of the objects of classical study should be 'to see ancient life on every side which can illustrate our own.' It should be a comfort to the modern grumbler that not only Aristophanes, but also less commonly read authors, such as Lucian or Athenaeus, or Theophrastus or Herondas, show that there was already much of our up-to-date (as we regard it) frivolity and foolishness in their day. There were strikes and corners; shopkeepers damped the wool and watered the liquor, and put the best figs on the top of the basket. There were knuts who lisped and drawled and jazzed, and ladies who rouged and adorned their faces with patches, and dyed their hair—auburn tresses being the favourite—and, in the words of Mark Twain describing present day practice, 'curled and frizzled it into scandalous and ungodly forms.' They had in those days freak dinners, very freakish indeed, and a mania for old furniture. They even had our little jokes. For some parallels see Mr. Platt's *Byways in the Classics*.

All this should help us to combat a not uncommon prejudice against the past, its peoples, their languages, and their ways, as a sorry scheme of things, musty, and necessarily inferior, and not worth troubling about. Go back to a period thousands of years, possibly a hundred thousand years earlier than the palmy days of Crete, when men were still in the savage state, and dwelling, like Homer's 'Pheres,' in the hollows of the hills. I read that on the walls of the caves of Altamira in Spain, 'the Sistine Chapel,' as it has been called, of prehistoric art, there are polychrome pictures which are 'the admiration of the world.' Or, to take a smaller matter, the needles with which the men of those days—the end of the early Stone Age—sewed their skins together were better than any the Romans ever used. Mr. Rice Holmes, in concluding his very interesting work on Ancient Britain, says, 'perhaps the story which this book has told may lead a few to become less self-complacent, and to think more of their primitive ancestors.' Or, to return to the East, of which,

as the late Professor Mahaffy has told us, Greece is and has always been a part, I read in one of Professor Sayce's works that the Tel El Amarna tablets show that the Mosaic Age was, in literary culture, as civilized as our own, and that in the then world of the Near East there was fully as much intercourse between nations as at the present day. Our ideas on the subject need constant revision as discovery widens our knowledge. The oldest age of Greece is not so old after all. It is separated from us by a mere fraction of the hundred or more millennia that man has been on the earth, and nearer to us than we allow ourselves to believe. Our knowledge of prehistory is still scanty, and there are civilizations which have been born and have flourished and perished of which we know little. Civilization, Professor Flinders Petrie tells us, is an intermittent phenomenon. During 10,000 years Egypt has had a series of civilizations. In the course of ages the same developments and ways and customs and what-not reappear at intervals. For 'the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, and there is no new thing under the sun.'

But my point is this, that the study of origins is always reducing our conceit in our progress, by showing us how much of the present, even of our advanced present, there is in the past. But what is of perhaps greater interest to the Homeric student is that there is so much of the past in the present, helping us to understand better past and present alike. How that is the province of the historian as well as of the antiquarian has been shown by Professor Hearnshaw in an interesting paper in the *Contemporary Review* for July. Examples abound for the Homerist. Take again the Homeric lion-hunts, of which we see spirited illustrations on Cretan gems. One such encounter, with spear and shield, was enacted a few years ago in *every* particular before Mr. Roosevelt in Zululand. I could illustrate some of the difficulties presented by the Homeric warrior's spear-throwing from Captain Cook's voyages, or from Professor Sollas's account, in his book on Ancient Hunters, of the extraordinary skill with the spear of the Tasmanian aborigines. I find my reading constantly supplies illustrations. Only a few days ago I read of an American lady in Sicily. She tells a wise woman there—2000 years after Theocritus's time—of the second of

that poet's Idylls, in which a lovelorn girl performs a charm to bring her lover back, whereupon the old lady works it out exactly as it had been done in the poet's day. Again, there is a controversy, made in Germany, about Ithaka, the home of Odysseus, in which one side makes capital out of the statement in the *Odyssey*, which it was disposed to ridicule, that flocks and herds were transported from the island to the mainland for pasture at certain seasons. A paper in the *Scotsman* newspaper last year described exactly the same practice in the Aran islands off the west coast of Ireland at the present day. Or, again, it astonished many people a few years ago to hear that pottery was being manufactured in the Hebrides without the wheel, as rude as the vessels that have been discovered in the early strata in Crete.

India can supply illustrations in abundance. One can see the steading of the good swineherd Eumaeus in clearings on the mountains of the West, and hard by the ἄλσος, the inviolate demesne of the god, in Sophocles's beautiful description, τὰν ἄβατον θεοῦ φυλλάδα μυριόκαρπον ἀνήλιον, and men as wild as Homer ever knew are still scratching the soil with Hesiod's onepiece plough. There are on the banks of the Nerbudda rude stone memorial pillars that match to a marvel the stelae which Schliemann unearthed at Mycenae. I have ridden twenty miles—I was young and inexperienced at the time, and never repeated the experiment—on the most primitive possible form of the Homeric car, and I had the very best reason for understanding how such a vehicle could be upset by collision with a mere tamarisk bush on the plain of Troy. And these are only a few facts out of many. I should like, however, to add this much. I had the good fortune to have for some years intimate acquaintance with a bit of the real old India, of India, that is, before it came under the settling influence of Britain, and the more I come to know, from the writings of experts, of Mycenaean Greece, the more I am convinced that conditions were very similar to what they were in this old India. In each country there were many states or chieftainships generally more or less in a state of unrest. Forest and waste were much more abundant than now, and the highways of traffic were the merest tracks. In old India there was hardly a mile of made road away from the vicinity of the great capital cities. In Greece there was

but the one paved system in the neighbourhood of Mycenae itself, remains of which are still visible to-day. The trade along these roads I have already referred to, and the description applies to India. We are told that, in the days when the Marathas were sweeping over the country and fighting and plundering year after year, in spite of this and other discouragements, trade went on so regularly that an order for cash issued by a banker in India would be honoured by his correspondent in the far North. The secret of it all is again blackmail in the shape of transit dues, which were formerly universal in India. They are now abolished, to the great relief of commerce, but in my own experience they were still levied, in an almost incredible number of forms, in the Native States. I have seen, in wild parts of the country, long lines of bullocks and ponies, owned and led by gipsies called Wanjāris—a name which means Traversers of the Forest—toiling heavy laden over tracks in the jungle over which one would say no domesticated animal could pass even without a load. And these tracks had been used from time immemorial. I remember one which had fallen into disuse and become covered by forest, but which could be traced by a series of splendid wells built by the gipsy leaders who had earned wealth from the trade they served. I conceive that these were just the conditions that obtained in Mycenaean Greece, and that the paths over which the traveller in the Greece of to-day sees mules and asses carrying burdens were the arteries of commerce in those early days.

Then the past is at our doors of course in language—language which you know has been said to be fossil poetry. To extract the past is the function of the linguistic palaeontologist, and you know how he charms us with his surprises. I learnt with pleasure the other day that, when I say I am going for a walk along the *dunes* by the sea in St. Andrews, I am using the word that Homer uses in the resounding phrase *παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*. It would, however, take me beyond my limits to show the extent to which—to use the words of an American professor—'we unconsciously use the heritage of classical antiquity,' but let me tell you of a striking illustration which he gave. Some twenty-five centuries ago some Greek mercenaries employed in Egypt carved an inscription, which still exists, on the leg

of the colossal statue of King Rameses II. The professor took from it letters, in all their old native rudeness, and made with them the sentence, THE PAST IS NOT SO DEAD AS SOME MEN STATE IT TO BE, and these words, framed in old Greek letters, could be read off without any hesitation by any child that knows the capital letters of our alphabet. That old collection of letters lives, and so does the language. It is not to be thought of or spoken of as *dead*. I hope you have all read Professor Postgate's admirable pamphlet entitled *Dead Language and Dead Languages*, the arguments in which are a most effective antidote to that foolish idea (see *CW* v, 33-34, 41-42).

There is one branch of this subject, relating to Place-names, which has proved of the greatest service to the ethnologist in his Mediterranean researches. The names of mountains and rivers, and even of towns after they have disappeared, or left only ruins or shapeless mounds, continue to cling to the localities. As Canon Taylor says in his *Words and Places*—one of those many charming treatises on word-lore with which all young students should be familiar—'the hills, the valleys and the rivers are the writing-tablets on which unlettered nations have been able to inscribe their names.' Let us take Hellas, as notable a name, I suppose, as any in history. It is still the name of Greece to-day, as you see from its postage stamps. It is as old as Homer, though to him it meant little more than a district of Thessaly, the valley of the Spercheus. And all these ages it has never left that spot, for Messrs. Wace and Thompson, when engaged on excavation there, found that the river was still known locally as the Elládha. The Caesareas and Alexandrias of classical times and the Victorias of our own day tell their own stories, and just so do the Minoas which Minos of Crete, or successive monarchs of that name, which may be a dynastic title like Pharaoh or Caesar, scattered about the Mediterranean. They indicate points to which the Cretan power extended. Again, the man familiar with Homer was no doubt more interested than others when he read in June last of that thrust by the Greeks from the neighbourhood of Smyrna against their hereditary foe, for it was Homer that first made known to him the Hyllus and the Hermus and Tmolus Mount and Ida and Lapsaké and other names.

And now a word as to the future, which I am happy to think is full of promise, for those of you especially who are on the threshold of life. Our knowledge of antiquity, which generally increases but slowly, may soon make an advance *per saltum*. It is something for the eager young scholar to look forward to. Some day the inscribed clay tablets, which the conflagration which destroyed the palace at Knossos baked and preserved for us, and which have so far defied the skill even of their discoverer, will be read, concurrently, we may hope, with the certain decipherment of Hittite records and the more thorough excavation of sites in Asia Minor which new political conditions will render feasible. The Knossos tablets may be, as some certainly are, only inventories of the stores and treasures kept in the cellars of that labyrinthine pile, but hope suggests that there may be among them other documents, possibly lists of tribute in kind exacted by Crete of the hundred cities from the coasts and islands that she held in fee, or even—I think Sir Arthur Evans has himself made the suggestion—excerpts from the famous laws of Minos. Think of the joy of the classical antiquary when he shall be able to compare these with the later ordinances of Gortyn or with the code of Hammurabi. In any case the language in which they are written will be given its place in one of the accepted classes of human tongues, and *then* will be settled the relation of this mysterious and marvellous Minoan race to other members of the human family. The Homerist's interests in ethnology has now become a wide one. He cannot eschew the various Aryan controversies, he must keep an eye on the Danubian culture and on Southern Russia, he has hopes from Hittite exploration, he is even drawn across to far Turkestan to listen to its newly discovered language, Tocharic. He finds attraction in works on the migrations of peoples and in what is called human geography and the influence of environment, and even in the lucubrations of the anthropologist and folklorist on ritual and belief, on magic and mana, and all the apparatus of what these wise men call in antique phrase 'ye beastlie devices of ye heathen.' And to all these pleasant fields of skilled inquiry he is led by a love for Homer and his age.

But chiefly we owe our increasing interest to the labours of the working archaeologist. He has at times been the object

of mild pleasantry, and his work has been described as the science of pots. Let us pay him our humble acknowledgements and remember that, as he sifts the earth that his labourers dig for him, and carefully examines and labels every fragment of pottery or some other artifact, however minute, and stores them in pillboxes, he is making *history* for us, the history of a world that has long lain in the darkness of the uncharted past. He even brings back, as I have said, much of that world bodily to the light of day. A few years ago an American young lady excavator observed some sherds lying about on a certain spot in Crete. Her workmen were set to dig, and before long, from the tumulus in which Nature had reverently buried it, there was revealed the complete skeleton of a Minoan town, with its houses and lanes, the palace of its king, and the little shrine with a well-worn way leading to it. Its discoverer has speculated on its fate. A day comes when the home fleet of Crete is engaged elsewhere. Pirates seize the opportunity, descend on the town, capture and burn it, and, as is the custom of the day described to us in two poignant lines of the *Iliad*, slaughter or enslave its people and extinguish its life with all its activities. And then, you remember Keats's words as he looks on an old Grecian urn—

> little town, thy streets for evermore
> Will silent be, and not a soul, to tell
> Why thou art desolate, will e'er return.

And now you will retort on me that this Homeric banquet, as Aeschylus styled it, is so rich and so profuse that no man of ordinary leisure can hope to do justice to it. But you will admit that there is a variety that will suit many tastes and give ample room for choice. I would urge my younger hearers to begin early, remembering that after life's work comes rest in old age, when leisure is more, and that to cultivate a good lifelong hobby is like accumulating a store of gold. I have endeavoured to show that the study of Homer is a manysided interest, but, if you cannot find time to wander into fields which I have sought to describe, there is at least the poetry itself, unsurpassed for combined grace and splendour, for beauty and fire, and for, in the fine words of Professor Saintsbury on Greek literature as a whole, 'the

unique combination of order and freedom, of beauty and strength, and the amazing marriage of logic and magic.' And with all this, there is no extravagance or excess, no yearning to split the ears of the groundlings. And that may be commended as the supreme lesson from communion with Homer. You will soon be able to appreciate, in all its pristine purity and strength, the measure, the balance, the harmony —by many names men call it—that never fails. And this without any detriment to the infinite variety of the poetry. A modern poet has even styled Homer 'myriad-minded,' and you remember Quintilian's magnificent judgment on the range of his genius: *Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate superavit; idem laetus ac gravis, tum copia, tum brevitate mirabilis.* But in all his moods and whatever his theme, there is no relaxation of restraint. There you have the mintmark of the masterpieces of all Greek art, and it is a trait that calls for more and more respect and imitation in the literature of our day. I have seen it described as 'one of those canons of taste which we so easily take for granted or in ignorance neglect.' It is summed up in Homer's own precept, that moderation, or the saving principle of Sophrosyné, is best in all things, and that is just the famous, the golden, μηδὲν ἄγαν, or the πᾶν τὸ περισσὸν ἄκαιρον, of later Greek.

And the earnest student of Homer will go further, and discover for himself new beauties and new depths; it was a very diligent delver in the poems, Mr. Gladstone, who warned us that 'it takes time to sound the depths of Homer.' To the ancients, as I have said, he was a teacher, and I have tried to show that we, in this late age, are only now realizing how much we have to learn from him. I remember the day, many years ago now, when I first read and copied on the flyleaf of my Homer the words of an Oxford scholar, Cyril Jackson, 'let no day pass without your having your Homer in your hand. Elevate your mind by continual meditation on the vastness of his comprehension'—in an old epigram that included the universe, *terram, mare, sidera, manes*—'and the unerring accuracy of all his conceptions,' and I confess I can remember smiling at the apparent hyperbole. I have lived to realize that the words affirm no more than the absolute truth. It is homage that any poet might be proud to

earn, but surely a wonderful tribute to one who lived in the childhood of our modern world.

But it is essential to the proper appreciation of the poetry of Homer that you know him intimately. Brother Copas, in the story of that name by Sir Arthur Quiller Couch, insists that you must 'soak yourself' in the poetry. The aim should be to be able to revel in it as if written in a second native language, to steep yourself in the Homeric spirit, and to be as familiar with the contents as you are or should be with the books of the Bible. Nor should this present any difficulty to any classical student who begins early and who makes a companion of the poet. For, with all his power, Homer is so simple and so clear. To another of our own poets he was the 'clearest-souled of men.' And every serious student of classical literature must have more than a mere surface knowledge of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and for this reason, if for no other, that without it he cannot read subsequent authors, whether Latin or Greek, to the best advantage. Let me mention one. The ancients styled Sophocles 'Homerikōtatos,' meaning that he was a devoted disciple of him whom they all revered as the Master. If you read his plays in the great edition by Jebb, you will hardly find a column of notes in which the epics are not appealed to in confirmation or illustration.

We have in this University the Professor Campbell Memorial Medal, designed to commemorate a great Grecian and his work. When the first copy was presented to Professor Campbell himself, he observed in reply that the artist had drawn on it a strong and flourishing bay-tree, on the topmost bough of which a nightingale is singing. He prayed that the tree might never wither, and the bird never cease to find listeners here, for, he said, 'they represent the perennial glory of Greek letters and their perennial charm.' That glory and that charm are nowhere brighter and sweeter than in the music of him whom all the great writers of Greece and Rome were proud to acknowledge as 'the Ionian Father of the rest,' and the fairest ornament of the immortal literature of Greece. I say immortal, for, in Lowell's words, 'Oblivion looks into the face of the Grecian Muse only to forget her errand.'

REVIEW OF LEAF'S *TROY*

CR XXVI (1912)

In matters Homeric we are, as Professor Murray recently remarked, 'getting on.' The Higher Criticism has been greatly discredited, and some of the best of its 'assured results' have gone to a limbo from which no theories return. Even in Germany the reaction against its methods gathers strength with every year, and Cauer sings the old songs to an audience that has grown listless. A revolt of outraged commonsense coincided with the revelation by the spade of a possible Homeric world. The autopsy of M. Bérard was another stimulant. And now Dr. Leaf does unexpected service to the new movement.

Not that he has abandoned his old attitude. But if he is still inclined to require several poets, he also believes in an original 'real record of real events,' out of which the *Iliad* grew. The heroes may have lived and fought, and the great Quarrel need not be a mere poetic fiction. The capture of the Hellespont was the expansion of Greece 'into the atmosphere of the large human world,' and the abduction of a woman may well have been the spark that caused a conflagration that had long been imminent. The geography of the Troad, as described in the *Iliad*, is found by Dr. Leaf to consist with the facts as far as it is capable of being tested, and no 'atopism' can be established. The Trojan Catalogue reflects (as Mr. Allen has found for the Greek *Διάκοσμος*) 'a state of things which must have existed at the time of the Trojan War, and could not have existed after it, nor long before.' Generally a plurality of poets causes no difficulty to Dr. Leaf, for he founds on a common tradition. 'The Tale of Troy was a corpus from the first.' So there is no place here for (if we understand his words correctly) either *Kleinliedertheorie* or *Kerntheorie*, and still less, as he distinctly holds, for the speculations of the *Sagenverschiebungen* school (to which Professor Murray inclines an easy ear) that the Tale 'began in earlier intertribal struggles, fought out in Greece itself.' All this brings more or less comfort to the once despised believer in the old traditional unitarian view.

The book is still more welcome when we mark the method and results, and compare these with the critical fads, as we may now call them, with which Dr. Leaf, in his edition of the *Iliad*, was in much sympathy. He now sees that there was less scope than he used to think for the operations of the later poets—for 'the invention of incidents, and the introduction of outside material.' The tactical interpolator, the obsequious Neleid to whom we owe Nestor, must surely vanish from Homeric criticism; the old man's advice to Agamemnon is quoted with respect. Suspicions about the Lycians and the Rhodian Tlepolemus may be disregarded for the future. The pre-*Iliad* events which led up to the Quarrel must no longer be the subject of small critical squabblings; they are seen to combine into one harmonious whole, a Great Foray, which was 'a serious military operation' and 'an important element in the strategy of the campaign.' And the object of that campaign, Dr. Leaf argues, was not a siege of Troy, but only an occupation of the coast to open the Hellespont, while its former mistress, by the destruction of the trade on which she rose to power, was 'being slowly bled to death.' Best of all, perhaps, we see, what some have always seen, that Homer's allusions to what he assumes was familiar to all are not to be taken for formal descriptions, and that omissions from these are not to be made occasions for hypercriticism.

In addition to the new theory of the Achaean expedition and the rehabilitation of the geography of the *Iliad*, we have a vade-mecum to Hissarlik, in the shape of a most useful summary of Dörpfeld's monumental but indexless volumes; a new Pelasgian theory with a 'Welsh' parallel, which invites the attention of Professor Myres; and an essay on the crux of the Locrian Maidens. The book is, in fact, 'rammed with' interest, and a very valuable contribution to Homeric study. It is written in a clear and agreeable style, and the minuteness with which individual points are examined and the impartiality with which arguments are balanced are such as to compel the reader's confidence. There are several good maps, one of which enables us to follow the author's journeyings and discussions on sites in the Troad with ease. We note by the way that Dr. Leaf accepts Dörpfeld's Leukas theory without reserve, and that he appreciates the impor-

tance of that tireless excavator's discovery of a genuine 'Homeric cemetery.'

And so the world of Homer grows more real year by year, and one basic difficulty tends to vanish from the Homeric controversy. The *Homer und kein Ende* of the Germans is the cheerless view that many adopt; Dr. Leaf himself speaks of the problem as 'probably indeterminate.' But the word in jest, with which we began, is a true one at present—we are certainly 'getting on.'

HISSARLIK

CR XLIV (1930)

THERE are developments in connexion with the topography of the Trojan Plain which do not appear to have attracted attention in this country.

In *CR* xlii (1928) 41, there is a brief notice of a pamphlet by Oscar Mey, a recent collaborator of Dörpfeld at Troy, *Das Schlachtfeld von Troja* (1926). This essay supports the view previously propounded by Brückner in a lecture now incorporated in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1925, that the Achaean Camp was on Besika Bay and not on the Hellespont. Dörpfeld agrees in a paper in *Studien zur vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie* (1925), a collection of studies in honour of Alfred Götze. Drerup, on the other hand, rejected Besika Bay in a lengthy review of Mey's work in the *Ph W* for 1927. One ground for the Besika theory was the proposition that in ancient times Ἑλλήσποντος included the northern Aegean. That was asserted by Sieglin in 1898, in a *Festschrift*, and was then discussed in *Rhein. Mus.* lxviii by Klotz (286 ff.), Birt (635), and Jachmann (640). The Besika location came too late for notice in Leaf's *Troy*, and is not referred to in his *Strabo on the Troad*; nor is it in Miss Stawell's 'The Scamander Ford in the *Iliad*' (*Proceedings of the Classical Association*, 1914), which is, I think, the latest discussion in English of the topography of the Plain.

In 1926 another former collaborator of Dörpfeld's pub-

lished a contribution to the controversy under the curious title *Das wahre und richtige Troja-Ilion entdeckt von Architekt v. Seyk, zuverlässiger Führer und Berater im Troas-Gefilde* (Prag, *im Selbstverlage*). Drerup reviewed this pamphlet along with Mey's mentioned above, and did not regard it seriously. He classed it with *Der Trojanische Humbug*, a big treatise published by an artillery officer, E. Botticher, in 1911, and directed against Dörpfeld's conclusions as to Hissarlik.

Von Seyk rejects Besika Bay, but also pronounces Hissarlik-Ilion impossible. He goes further, and locates Homeric Troy at Kara Your, some four or five miles due east of Hissarlik, whither probably no one will follow him. The ruins at Hissarlik, he decides, are the remains of the common burial-place of the Achaeans and the wall surrounding it described in the 7th *Iliad*.

Finally there is a conspicuously able, clear and full review of the whole question by M. Charles Vellay, editor of *L'Acropole*, in *Les nouveaux aspects de la question de Troie* (Paris, 1930). He rejects Besika Bay after a searching examination of the evidence and arguments used in support of it, and contends that Hissarlik is absolutely impossible. He regards von Seyk's suggestion that it is the Achaean burial-ground as *fort vraisemblable* and *sous certaines réserves acceptable*. The 'audacious' identification of Hissarlik by Schliemann and Dörpfeld was, he urges, too readily accepted. On Dörpfeld's acceptance of Besika he writes: *Il reconnait aujourd'hui que, si Ilion est à Hissarlik, il est impossible de situer le camp des Achéens entre Sigée et Rhoetée. Ce qui peut s'entendre aussi de la manière suivante: si le camp des Achéens est entre Sigée et Rhoetée, il est impossible, de l'aveu même de M. Dörpfeld, que l'Ilion homérique soit à Hissarlik.* M. Vellay writes with complete command of the literature, including the works and papers of those who, before and since the Schliemann-Dörpfeld discoveries, have rejected or hesitated about Hissarlik, and his book claims the attention of the archaeologists. The ordinary man in the Homeric street will meantime reflect that a poet is not to be bound to strict topographical accuracy, and wonder a little at the massiveness of the Achaean necropolis.

I should add for the sake of completeness that a military

man, Oberst W. von Diest, in a paper on the Dardanelles in the Great War, pp. 193-221 of the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin* for 1916, considers the question of the camp and favours Besika Bay. I have not seen the paper, but note that M. Vellay charges him with *une ignorance presque complète des auteurs anciens et de l'Iliade elle-même.*

Since the above was written a full and interesting review of M. Vellay's work by Professor John A. Scott has appeared in *CP* xxv (1930).

HITTITE NAMES

CR xlv (1931)

The names under reference are those of the Boghaz Keui tablets which exhibit a more or less close resemblance to names of personages known in early Greek history or tradition, and of places in Greece or Asia Minor. The importance of this for Greek prehistory, if identifications are proved, has been recognized in most of the recent works on that period.

In 1924 Sir Frederic Kenyon, speaking as President of the Hellenic Society, said on this point: 'The resemblances are too numerous to be attributed to chance, and there is nothing in the information to be derived from these tablets which is irreconcilable with our other knowledge,'[1] and the remark may be repeated with greater force to-day. Sir Frederic specified Achaia, Aeolus, Lesbos, Eteocles, Andreus, and Atreus, and to these may now be added names resembling Alexandros, Troia, Ilios, Motylos, κοίρανος, and even Asia and Amorites. And Khati itself; Gladstone long ago suggested that the *Κήτειοι* of λ 521 were Hittites, and Kretschmer has come to the same conclusion.[2] Professor Garstang in his recent volume[3] gives, with due caution,

[1] *JHS* xliv Proc. xxii f.
[2] *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, Heft I 7-14.
[3] *The Hittite Empire*, 179 ff.

a number of other place-names from the tablets, including such familiar ones as Chersonesos, Pedasos and Miletos.

In a short note I can give only in summary fashion the views of scholars as far as I have observed them. Among high authorities who seem to be entirely favourable to the identifications are Drerup,[1] Kretschmer,[2] Buck,[3] Glotz,[4] Hans Philipp,[5] Sturtevant,[6] and Riess.[7] For the views of Professor Myres I refer to pp. 115-17, 120, 165 (a note on the *cumulative* effect of the evidence), and 327 of his *Who were the Greeks?* In the *CAH* his appears to be the only reference to the matter; he doubted, on p. 636 of Vol. iii, the equation Attarissyas-Atreus, but in his new work he appears to accept it. Dr. Giles, in a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society on January 31st, 1924, announced Forrer's discoveries as regards Atreus and Achaeis, and appeared to be satisfied as to the latter. In a later statement he thinks it likely that the heroes of Greek legend 'are in a fair way to be restored to history.'[8]

In Harmsworth's *Universal History of the World*, Myres, Garstang, Wace, and Casson accept certain identifications.[9] Carl Schuchhardt also is satisfied: *die griechische Tradition ist also erstaunlich zuverlässig*.[10] Professor Garstang remarks the increasing light on obscure legends from these archives.[11] Nilsson, while allowing there may be room for doubt in some instances, has none as regards Achaia.[12] Rostovtzeff finds the discoveries very encouraging for the study of early Greek settlements in Asia Minor.[13] Burn[14] and Bowra[15] make brief references. Professor Sayce accepts the Achaeans and Lesbos, and Troy, but argues that the Attarissyas of the

[1] 'Neues über Mykenä und Homer,' in the *Phil. Woch.* for 1926, 229 ff.
[2] 'Der König Alaksandus von Vilusa,' in *Glotta* xiii (1924) 205-13.
[3] 'The Language Situation in and about Greece in the Second Millennium B.C.,' in *CP* xxi (1926) 1 ff.
[4] *Histoire grecque*, 89 f. and 92.
[5] Reviewing in the *Phil. Woch.* for 1925, 188, three works on the Hittites, two of them by Forrer, and quoting a paper by Emil Vetter in the *Wiener Blätter* for 1924.
[6] *CW* xviii (1925) 175.
[7] *CW* xxiii (1930) 21.
[8] *The Year's Work* for 1924-5, 122-5.
[9] See pp. 737, 789, 868, 870, 1031.
[10] *Alteuropa*^{2}, 227.
[11] *Op. cit.* 172, note.
[12] *Das homerische Königtum*, 24, note.
[13] *A History of the Ancient World*, 177.
[14] *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, 136 f.
[15] *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, 169 and 179.

tablets is Perseus, not Atreus.[1] This is an identification on which several authorities hesitate; Autran is one who is not convinced.[2]

One of the latest references to these doublets is by the late Mr. H. R. Hall in Lecture vi of *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, and it suggests a query. Certain of the identifications are awkward for a particular view, but Mr. Hall reflects, p. 249, that they 'rest on the personal opinion of one scholar of enthusiastic view,' and notes how 'the doctors disagree.' He is, however, impressed by the resemblances, and eventually, p. 290, 'suspends judgment.' Now in the early part of the same lecture he has discussed the 'Peoples of the Sea,' whose names to the number of a dozen or so as given in Egyptian records are paralleled by well-known Greek names. He seems to find no ground for rejecting the identifications; no scholar does reject them all, though there may be a doubt in one instance or another. In fact, Mr. Hall says on p. 242 that 'the cumulative evidence of their names is cogent.' But if we are to accept all or nearly all the names from Egyptian sources, why should we reject those from the Hittite tablets? The two cases seem exactly similar.

To sum up, it may be said that, in the great majority of the references to Forrer's interpretations, no difficulty is felt. In direct opposition little has been said, so far as my observation goes. In 1925 Johannes Friedrich, in a paper in *Das humanistische Gymnasium*, examined Forrer's identifications, and came to the conclusion that some were correct, others possible, and one or two quite wrong. But two years later he disputed the literal correspondence of several of the names.[3] This is, so far as I know, the only reasoned attempt to invalidate Forrer's transliterations. There may, of course, be others. But objectors generally confine themselves to intimating a doubt as to one name or another.

In conclusion it may be noted that, while so many high authorities on Greek prehistory regard these discoveries as

[1] *Antiquity* i 204 ff., and *JHS* xlv (1925) 161 ff.

[2] *Introduction à l'Étude du Nom propre grec*, 512—On Atreus see letters to *The Times* of March 8 (Mr. Seltman), March 12th (Mr. Mott), and April 8th (Sir Arthur Evans), 1924.

[3] 'Werden in der hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?' in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, Heft 1. Forrer replied in Heft 2.

material of high value for their investigations, others go further, and find in them confirmation of the historicity of the Homeric record. In words I find quoted from Weber's *Staatenwelt des Mittelmeeres in der Frühzeit des Griechentums*, the *Mythos* of Homer has become *erlebte Gegenwart*.[1] But this is anathema to certain reconstructors of Iliads and Odysseys of their own. Wilamowitz, in the preface to his recent volume on the *Odyssey*, finds what has been written on the subject merely 'chaotic,' a series of 'bewildering assertions accompanied by helpless fumbling in mythological story.' A great contrast this to the respectful treatment accorded by many eminent scholars! Bethe again, in the preface to his last volume, *Homer iii*, declines to devote a word to Forrer's discoveries; even if it were proved that Ahhijava is Achaia, 'it would be of no significance for the saga of the Trojan War,' which sounds strange from one who has evolved the very peculiar theory that the connexion of the Greeks with the Troad dates only from 700 B.C. And, lastly, Rudolf Dahms, author of *Ilias und Achilleis*, in a review of Bethe's work, quotes the above words from the preface, and remarks that it is 'delightful to read this, in view of so much *blühenden Phantasiegebildes*.'[2] But the cogency of these identifications and their bearing on both Greek prehistory and Homeric origins have been so generally recognized, that it is useless to reply with a contemptuous *ignoro, ignorabo*. The attitude of this school of Homerists will probably recall to some a historic scene at Towcester a century ago. 'He won't,' said Mr. Slurk; 'not that he's afraid. Oh no! He *won't!*'

P.S.—Kretschmer returns to Alaksandus and Vilusa in *Glotta* xviii (1930).—See now his long and extraordinarily learned paper, *ibid.*, xxi 213 ff., in reply to Friedrich and Sommer.

[1] See *Phil. Woch.* 1926, 1115.
[2] *Phil. Woch.* 1917, 1282.

FISHING WITH A ROD IN HOMER[1]

CP XXII (1927)

Ω 77 ff. *ὣς ἔφατ', ὦρτο δὲ Ἶρις ἀελλόπος ἀγγελέουσα,*
μεσσηγὺς δὲ Σάμου τε καὶ Ἴμβρου παιπαλοέσσης
ἔνθορε μείλανι πόντῳ· ἐπεστονάχησε δὲ λίμνη.
ἡ δὲ μολυβδαίνῃ ἰκέλη ἐς βυσσὸν ὄρουσεν,
ἥ τε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμβεβαυῖα
ἔρχεται ὠμηστῆσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι κῆρα φέρουσα.
εὗρε δ' ἐνὶ σπῆϊ γλαφυρῷ Θέτιν κ.τ.λ.

μ 251 ff. *ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ προβόλῳ ἁλιεὺς περιμήκεϊ ῥάβδῳ*
ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ εἴδατα βάλλων
ἐς πόντον προΐησι βοὸς κέρας ἀγραύλοιο,
ἀσπαίροντα δ' ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἔρριψε θύραζε,
ὣς οἵ γ' ἀσπαίροντες ἀείροντο προτὶ πέτρας.

The meaning of *κέρας* in these two passages has been debated from ancient times. The object of this paper is to give some reasons for believing that one of the interpretations of the men of old was correct.

In 1921 Mr. W. Radcliffe published his work on *Fishing from the Earliest Times*. On pages 81 ff. he gives seven solutions of the crux, which for the sake of completeness I give in abbreviated form as follows. The *κέρας* was: (1) a little pipe or collar of horn protecting the line just above the hook; (2) a bit of horn fastened to the hook and plummet to disguise their appearance; (3) a horn or tube in which only the leaden weight was inclosed; (4) a kind of tress, made out of the hair of a bull; (5) a prong of horn attached to a staff to pierce and fork out the fish while feeding; (6) a crescent of horn to one end of which the line was attached; (7) an artificial bait of horn, probably shaped like a small fish, and hollow, with lead inserted to sink it. This appeared to Mr. Radcliffe 'to be perhaps the most likely solution of our problem.'

Reviews of the book in the *TLS* of November 24th, 1921,

[1]So far as I am aware, this paper has not been criticized. I had pleaded for notice of the kind in the last few sentences of the paper.—I can now refer to a paper by Professor Rose in *CP* xxix (1934.)

and in *Nature* of October 21st, 1922, gave rise to a lengthy correspondence in the former publication which continued until April 19th, 1923. In the course of it, as stated in the Preface to the second edition of the book (1926), eight more views of the κέρας were propounded. Of these, six seemed novel and are enumerated as follows (I number them in continuation of the original seven): (8) the whole horn used as a sinker; (9) the pattern on which the lead sinker was fashioned; (10) weighted with lead it carried to the bottom something in the nature of salmon roe to attract, or a narcotic or other poison to destroy, the fish; (11) a double ox-horn leaded and with baits attached to either horn; (12) a gaff or *cleik*; (13) (Mr. Henry Balfour in his review in *Nature* of October 21st, 1922) a bell-shaped ox-horn, slipping up and down the fishing line, to protect the hook and bait on the downward and upward journey through weeds, in the way the carapace of a crab is used on the west coast of Ireland.

After mentioning an epigram which I shall refer to later on, Mr. Radcliffe declares that 'the puzzle of the ox-horn eludes us to-day as it did the Greeks 2200 years ago.'

In a letter to the *TLS* of April 19th, 1923, I gave some arguments in favour of a line made of bull's hair (cf. explanation [4] above), and submitted that they constituted a fair prima facie case, which I thought invited rebuttal, but no one, so far as I am aware, has pursued the question, nor does Mr. Radcliffe notice the arguments in his new edition. I infer that he does not consider that they alter the position.

His statement of (4) in his first edition (p. 82) is as follows:

> κέρας was a kind of tress, made out of the hair of a bull. Plutarch, however states flatly: 'But this is an error.[1]' Damm and others insist that the word in this sense is post-Homeric, and agree with Plutarch that these tresses, if ever used, would have been of the hair of a horse, and not of a bull.

In a footnote it is added that Apollonius Sophista was aware of the interpretation. Hayman, who prefers a staff shod with iron, is also quoted as thinking that the remarks of the scholiast on μ 251 perhaps illustrate fishing tackle as later known.

The evidence from Plutarch amounts to nothing. In the

[1] *De soll. anim.* 24.

first place, can he be considered an authority in such matters? I have seen it stated somewhere that his answers to his 'Questions' are often childish, but to satisfy myself further I consulted the first two histories of Greek literature that were to hand, and in one, von Christ's[4], page 694, I read that Plutarch is neither a critical historian nor an unprejudiced observer; and in the other, Professor Gilbert Murray's, page 396, that the value of his statements depends entirely on the authorities he chances to follow. In the present case he quotes no authority at all. *Ipse dixit!* ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἀληθές (that lines made of bull's hair were used) ἱππείαις γὰρ θριξὶ χρῶνται. They did not in Homer's day use such lines, for in my day they use horsehair! However high Plutarch's authority may be, nothing of any value can be extracted from such a statement.

And so for Damm. Preferring the horn tube in both Ω and μ, his remarks on συμπλοκὴ τριχῶν as one meaning of κέρας are:

> Praeterquam quod hic significatus est recentior; et quod potius equinos pilos ad ejusmodi contortum tenuem funiculum adhibere soliti sunt quam bouinos: poeta alibi dicit, λίνῳ καὶ χαλκῷ capti pisces: ut appareat usos antiquissimos λιναῖς ὁρμιαῖς.

The first sentence, about the signification, is mere assertion which Damm takes no trouble to substantiate. Next, he could not possibly know that in Homer's time horsehair was preferred. And lastly, because the poet once speaks of a line of flax, we are to infer that Homeric men could not have used a hair line, though, if they did not, how it is known that they must have preferred horsehair to bull's hair does not appear. Plutarch and Damm give no help. Other authorities are mentioned, but not specified, and as there was nothing else on the point in the correspondence in the *TLS* besides my own letter, the question is open still. I propose now to make a fuller statement.

The references in Eustathius, the scholia, and old lexicons are numerous, and well known from commentaries and other works. They deal with the tube of horn and the hair line. Eustathius on the principal passages (Ω 80 ff., μ 251 ff., and Λ 385, and on *N* 21) summarizes the matter. He notes that horsehair lines were in use, and that Homer mentions

one of flax. His authorities on hair as a meaning for κέρας are Herodian, and two he often quotes together, Apion and Herodorus. Herodian, he observes on Λ 385, λέγει ὅτι κέρας ἐπὶ τριχὸς μάλιστα ἐπὶ βοῶν καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων λέγεται, and so for the other two scholars. And to the same effect a scholiast on that line. πλέγμα and συμπλοκὴ τῶν τριχῶν are the expressions used to explain κέρας. And so in the lexicons; Apollonius Sophista on κέραι ἀγλαέ—οἱ μὲν γλωσσογράφοι, ταῖς θριξὶν ἀγαλλόμενε, and Hesychius, κέρας· θρίξ. Stephanus, *s.v.*, κέρας, approves, and adds the testimony of Pollux. I need not give all the references, but the foregoing is the gist of the testimony of the old authorities. The question is, What is its value?

One would like to know why these authorities are to be discredited. I have consulted the works of Ludwich and Lehrs on Aristarchus, and the *Quaestiones Epicae* of the latter containing a long section on Apion, and the *Dissertationes* of Sengebusch, and find Herodian and Apion spoken of with all respect as scholars. Apion's 'noisy self-assertion' is familiar, but his industry was 'unwearied'[1] and his scholarship is not impugned. Von Christ[2] says he compiled a Homeric glossary, and that it was the basis of the lexicon of Apollonius. The treatise, whatever it was, of Apion and Herodorus that Eustathius quotes from time to time was based on the notes of Herodian, and Herodian's work is beyond cavil. He was *summus grammaticus grammatici summi filius*, and his reputation with his contemporaries was very high.[3] Surely we cannot flout such authority in the present matter.

The testimony is post-Homeric of course, but testimony of the kind is accepted freely in other Homeric discussions, as we have unfortunately none from interpreters of the poet contemporary with him, or who lived near his time. But there seems to be something better—evidence in the poems themselves. There is, first, the term of abuse, κέραι ἀγλαέ, addressed by Diomede to Paris (Λ 385). Does this refer to the 'bow' or the 'hair' of Paris? There were advocates of both views. Eustathius, for instance, says on Ω 80 that the

[1] Sandys, *Hist. Class. Schlp.*, I[3] 296.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 791.
[3] Sengebusch, i 37, and von Christ, *loc. cit.*

phrase shows that *κέρας καὶ ἐπὶ τριχῶν λέγεται*, and on *Λ* 385, *κέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἐμπλοκὴ τῶν τριχῶν καθὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ὁ κρωβύλος*. But others held that *κέρας* there meant 'the bow,' 'the horn,' I suppose, being used as we use 'the steel' for a sword. But this involves the assumption that Paris' bow was of the kind brought to Troy by Pandarus (*Δ* 109 ff.), that is, made of two horns joined at their butt ends. If bows were generally of that construction, *κέρας*, singular or plural, might have come to be used for 'bow,' but we do not know that it was so used in Homer's day. Later it was; in *AP* vi 75, for example, both *κέρας* and *κεραία* are used, but, though *τόξον* and *τόξα* are frequent in Homer, *κέρας* or *κέραα* as 'bow' *never* occurs, unless in *φ*395, and that passage will be considered presently. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss the point further, for the bow will hardly be insisted on now in face of Helbig's demonstration[1] that *κέρας* in *Λ* 385 signifies a particular mode of dressing the hair, which was twisted or curled up in some way as an ornament to the head—a *πλέγμα* or *συμπλοκὴ τριχῶν* in the language of the old commentators. Dr. Leaf[2] accepted the demonstration, as do Ameis-Hentze, and Pauly-Wissowa,[3] 'die älteste mit einem Namen genannte Frisur ist das *κέρας*,' though Studniczka[4] hesitates, but without going into the question. Helbig's proof has regard to the scholia and lexica, but also to an ancient 'illustration of the spirally curved locks' which received the name of *κέρας*. He and others have remarked how appropriate *ἀγλαέ* is with it in this sense, a sense which it might have retained if it had not been for that bow *de luxe* of Pandarus, which, as the only bow described at length by Homer, led to the notion that all bows in the poems, even that of Odysseus, were made of two horns joined. Finally, it has to be remarked that the *coiffure* of Paris was one object of reproach from Hector (*Γ* 55), and we may recall that there was another Trojan youth whose hair was elaborately dressed (*P* 52). Possibly *B* 872 should be added.[5] No doubt some will still maintain that this *κέρας* was so called because it stood up like a horn, but that is not the view of the oldest interpreters of Homer. To them it was an *ἐμπλοκὴ τριχῶν* and an equivalent of *θρίξ*.

[1] *Hom. Epos*[1], p. 241.
[2] *Ad. loc.*
[3] *S.v.* 'Haartracht,' col. 2120.
[4] *Beiträge*, p. 61 n.
[5] Seymour, *Life*, p. 176, and Pauly-Wissowa, *ut supra*, 2112.

And here may be mentioned the expression *ὀρθόκερων φρίκην* in Soph. *Frag.* 875 (Pearson), on which see Pearson's note. To render the adjective, 'that makes the hair stand up like horns,' is surely to exact double duty from the *κέρας* element. It is simpler, bearing in mind the *κέρας· θρίξ* of the lexicons, to accept the *ὀρθόθριξ* of Pollux and Photius, quoted by Stephanus and by Pearson. The natural interpretation of *ὀ. φ.*, with *κέρας* = 'horn,' would seem to be a fright that makes the horns stand erect, but horns do that of themselves. The expression *ὀρθαὶ τρίχες* is of course as old as Homer (*Ω* 359). In this connection the *κεροπλάστης* of Archilochus has been referred to and interpreted as constructor of these horns of hair. But if 'hairdresser' is the proper interpretation, it implies a general function more in keeping with *κέρας* in the sense of *θρίξ*. The quotation *κέρατα· οὐ μόνον κέρα* from the anonymous Antatticistes in Bekker's *Anecdota* (p. 104) appears to refer to the form, not the meaning, of the word.

The foregoing considerations, outlined in the *TLS*, have not appealed to Mr. Radcliffe and are not mentioned in his Preface. But since they were published I have come to think there is still further support in Homer. Comparing the two meanings of *κέρας*, Stephanus observes (*s.v.*) that it is of no importance in the controversy that Homer does not use *κέρας* for 'hair,' because after all the word in the sense of 'bow' is used only once in the poems. It might well have been that the word was never used in either sense. But is it the fact that the word is used even once in the sense of 'bow'? The reference, of course, is to *φ* 393 ff., where Odysseus has at length got the great bow into his hands. And then:

ὁ δ' ἤδη τόξον ἐνώμα
πάντῃ ἀναστρωφῶν, πειρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
μὴ κέρα ἶπες ἔδοιεν ἀποιχομένοιο ἄνακτος.

κέρα here has always been taken as meaning the horns of which the bow was made, the weapon being assumed to be of what I may call the 'Pandarus type.' And it is further assumed that there is a weevil or borer, *ἶψ*, which could so eat into the substance of an animal's horn as to make it weak enough to break under strain. But both these points are doubtful. We do not know that all bows of the Homeric

period were made of two horns, and even by those who are not zoological experts it may be questioned whether there is a minute insect capable of eating horn, that is, the horn proper and not merely the inner and perhaps softer surface. I have not seen mention of one in the literature I have consulted. White ants are supposed to be as destructive as insects can be; in the early days of British rule in India even *rupees* in thousands are said to have vanished from their attentions. But, as a matter of fact, there are three kinds of wood—teak and blackwood or ebony are two of them—which even white ants find too much for their weapons of offence. The animal Pandarus shot was an ibex or wild goat of some kind.[1] Whatever the species, if the horn was of the hardness of, say, that of the common Indian antelope or 'black buck,' it presented a very solid front to borers.

The destructive activity of the ἴψ is a question for the zoologist. But, assuming there is such an insect, and assuming the great bow was of the Pandarus type, there is a consideration of a more substantial kind when we ask how the two horns were joined. On this point we must consult what is now the standard work on the bow, Bulanda's, already quoted on this page. The point has not had much attention from the commentators, though both van Leeuwen, *ad loc.* and on φ 419 (*et medio arcui a vermibus fuit periculum*), and Monro, on 419 ('The πῆχυς was the middle part joining the two horns'), recognize that there was a junction by a piece of some other material. What was it? Certainly something more pliant than horn, which is said to have no or very little elasticity; something that the Wooers might hope to take the stiffness out of, θάλποντες καὶ ἐπιχρίοντες ἀλοιφῇ (φ 179). They could never hope to do that by these means for horn. Seymour[2] suggested wood, and Bulanda, in an interesting discussion, concludes that the *Bindematerial* was *ohne Zweifel Holz*. A bow of the kind has been found in Egypt.[3] At any rate, there is good reason to believe that the horns would be joined by something softer than horn, and, that being so, κέρα or κέρα' (whether for κέραε or κέραα) cannot refer to the horns, if horns there were. Whatever the

[1] Buchholz, *Realien*, i 2, 163 f., and Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums*, p. 75.

[2] *Life*, p. 668.

[3] Bulanda, p. 7.

destructive power of the ἶπες, it must have been greater in regard to such material than to horn; they would attack *it* first, and the concern of Odysseus would be for this middle piece—a sense which κέρα cannot bear. We must find some other sense for it.

There is one ready to hand. There was an adjunct of the bow itself, attached to one end of the bow, which it greatly behooved Odysseus to see was in perfect order—the bowstring. The material out of which it was twisted in ancient times was very various,[1] and I suggest that the κέρα were its strands, which might easily be injured by the ἶπες. If κέραα in the sense of 'horn' could come to be used in that of 'bow,' the same word in the sense of 'hair' could come to be used as 'bowstring.' But, it will be replied these strands were not of hair, for Δ 122 shows they were of hide. The lines describing the shot of Pandarus (122 f.) are

> ἕλκε δ' ὁμοῦ γλυφίδας τε λαβὼν καὶ νεῦρα βόεια·
> νευρὴν μὲν μαζῷ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον,

where the use of the plural νεῦρα with the singular νευρή no doubt implies that the string was made of strands twisted. But that solitary passage cannot prove that bowstrings were always made of bull's hide. Indeed, νεῦρα βόεια, literally 'strings or strands of bull [or ox],' may as well mean that they were made of bull's hair as that they were made of bull's hide.

We shall be in a better mood for discussing this vexed question when there is more moderation of inference from a single mention of a thing in Homer. In the matter of the bow itself, Bulanda shows (p. 2) how great is the variety of the material of which bows were made in antiquity. No doubt there was considerable variety in Greece as elsewhere. Even when bows of horn are mentioned in literature, as in *AP* vi 75 quoted above, the reference is as likely to be to one made of strips of horn fastened together as to one of the double-horn type. In Egypt the bow 'was always of wood; the compound bow of horn is rarely found.'[2] One can hardly believe that the bows of all the bowmen at Troy were identical with that famous Lycian bow described in Δ. To argue that the

[1] Bulanda, p. 7.

[2] *Encyc. Brit.*[11], ix 68.

bows of Paris and Odysseus were horn bows, because Homer describes one such, is of a piece with the criticism that would reduce all the shields of the many warring tribes and peoples before Troy to one pattern. At any rate, if the bow of Odysseus was a Pandarus bow of horn, the new interpretation of κέρας makes the passage intelligible. If it was not a horn bow, which is likely enough, *cadit quaestio.*

An objection has to be met. It was said in the correspondence that whatever the meaning of κέρας βοὸς ἀγραύλοιο may be, that meaning it must have in all its occurrences. That is not so. It will be found by anyone who draws out particulars of Homer's practice with the phrase—much neglected in favour of the epithet, the formula, etc.—that the same unvaried combination of words may be used in totally different senses, whether the main word in the phrase be the same in form but having different senses and even origins, or only the same in form but having different senses and even origins. Take the frequent πίονα δῆμον ('fertile country') and πίονα δημόν ('rich fat'); or κρήδεμον (-να) λύειν, of the overthrow of the 'sacred coronal' of Troy, of the removal by Odysseus of Leukothea's veil or scarf from his person, and of the undoing of the fastening of a wine-jar; or λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι of beasts eating trefoil, and of men eating the fruit of a tree. If we proceed to cases in which the combination is identical in every respect, but the application is different—e.g., in the occurrences of δήμοιο φῆμις or πάλιν δ' ὅ γε λάζετο μῦθον—many more instances could be cited, but enough has been said to repel the objection. There is as much difference between battlements and a veil as between hair and horn, perhaps more, for physiologically hair and horn are, I believe, identical in origin.

The objection was to operate thus. The combination occurs, besides the similes, in one other place, Ψ 780. There it is said of Aias and the prize he has won in the foot race, στῆ δὲ κέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων βοὸς ἀγραύλοιο. There it means 'the horn' indubitably; therefore it means 'horn,' or 'something made of horn,' in the two similes. But that interpretation is not indubitable. The meaning may well be that Aias was holding the forelock of the animal. In the correspondence in the *TLS* I quoted Stengel, *Opfergebräuche der Griechen*, page 84, 'wurden Tiere geopfert, so berührten die

den Eid Leistenden stets einen Teil, in dem man den Sitz des Lebens vermutete, oder der symbolische Bedeutung hatte,' and his reference to the Homeric instances, *Γ* 273 and *T* 254. To these I added *γ* 446, where Merry and Riddell translate *κεφαλῆς τρίχας* by 'forelock,' which, according to another authority given by Stengel, 'vertritt pars pro toto das Haupt.' Aias was not, as was said in the correspondence, taking an oath, but it may be suggested that his act is meant to be symbolical of his ownership. I only suggest, however, that 'the forelock' suits as well as 'the horn.' Perhaps better, if, as two men of experience with cattle have assured me, a tethered bullock would almost certainly resent being seized by the horn, but of course ancient cattle may have been more amenable, or Aias ignorant of their ways. No one can say whether Homer meant forelock or horn. The only advantage the latter has is that of prepossession. To some it will be hard to give up that meaning of *κέρας* in favour of any alternative. And I shall add here one strange fact, without being able to impute to it any special significance, and that is that *κέρας* is never certainly used by Homer in the singular of 'horn,' but always—ten instances—in the plural.

Another objection that will be taken is this. Even if *κέρας* means 'a hair line,' 'the line of an ox' is *vox nihili*. The ellipsis of the bracketed words in 'a line [made of the hair] of an ox' will be too much for some to accept. Yet it can be exactly paralleled. *τόξον αἰγός* (*Δ* 105) is 'a bow [made of the horn] of a goat.' Worse than that, a warrior at Troy fights equipped with a *βοῦς*, or '[shield made out of hides of an] ox.' *οἰὸς ἄωτος* may mean a 'sling,' or a 'blanket' or 'coverlet.' Other similar liberties are taken with objects where there is an animal connection. *ἵπποι* or *ἵππω* often means an 'equipage consisting of a chariot and pair of horses.' A *κυνεή*, or 'cap' or 'casque made of dogskin,' remains a *κυνεή*, though made of the skin of bull, weasel, or goat, or 'all of bronze.' This objection to the phrase *κ. β. ἀ.* could not be sustained.

One other matter requires to be noticed. There are a number of references to fishing in the *AP*, and in a letter to the *TLS* Professor D'Arcy Thompson called attention to vi 230, in which an old fisherman, *Δᾶμις ὁ κυρτευτὴς ψάμμῳ κέρας αἰὲν ἐρείδων*, presents as *γέρας* to Apollo Akreitas

a κῆρυξ, a kind of shellfish, and this epigram was discussed in a later letter by Dr. Sampson. He takes κέρας = 'horn,' but has no theory in the matter, and does not signify his concurrence with any of the various explanations. But he does say that 'here as in Ω 80 the oxhorn weighted with lead' (which is not expressly mentioned in the epigram) 'plunged to the bottom of the sea, lying there on the sand.' That interpretation seems likely enough, if we take κέρας as the line drawn down by the sinker, of which, as an essential adjunct of a fishing line, mention was not required. No other explanation of the habitual action of Damis has been suggested. The verb ἐρείδω, as often implying forcible action, will be to some an objection to the explanation now put forward, but ἐρείδω does not always imply the use of force. Thus in θ 66 it is used of the simple placing of a chair against a pillar in a room, and in *X* 112 of the placing of a spear, no longer required for use, against a wall. The meaning of the verb is *acclino*, one of those given by Ebeling. In the epigram it seemed to me we might translate 'letting [his line] rest on the sand,' and I now see that Dr. Sampson's own rendering is 'rests his horn on,' and Mr. Paton's the same in the Loeb edition. Mr. Radcliffe's comment, in the Preface to his second edition, on Dr. Sampson's letter is that it

> seems, if it can be proved that the horn is specified as the essential implement of the fisherman and not a mere necessary piece of tackle, and that [as in *Il.* xxiv 80] it plunged and rested at the bottom of the sea, to shatter several of the old interpretations.

The κύρτη (*nassa* or 'weel') would be one essential implement, and the line another, and the reference to the κύρτη (in κυρτευτής) does not exclude the line. Both are included in the lists of a fisherman's gear in *AP* vi 4 and 5. Then as to ψάμμος, it is as likely to be the sand at the bottom of the sea, as Dr. Sampson takes it to be, as sand on the shore. The explanation based on κέρας = 'line' is not one of those that are likely to be shattered by this epigram. Rather, that meaning is confirmed by it.

That fishing lines of hair were in use in Greece is certain. It is proved by the references in the scholia, etc., and in the *AP* e.g., vi 23 and 192, and especially vii 70, where a 'six-

stranded hair line' (Paton) is mentioned, ἑξαμίτης ἐκ τριχὸς. But, it will be asked, why bull's hair? The answer is, Why not? Evidence for classical times or earlier is not producible, but that it can be and had been used in our own country I can prove by evidence from this town of St. Andrews. My inquiries here in three different directions leave no doubt on the point. One informant, whom I met casually in the street, pointed to a house close by, and told me that many years before there lived there an old man to whom my informant said he used, when a boy, to take bulls' hair tails from his mother's (butcher's) shop, where the old man made the hair into fishing lines. But again, as I formerly wrote, 'to early man the hair of a bull may have had peculiar virtue,' and since then I find Mr. A. B. Cook, in *Zeus*, quoting with approval from Professor Gilbert Murray's *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, page 33, that

> the bull was the chief of magic or sacred animals in Greece, chief because of his enormous strength, his rage, in fine his mana as anthropologists call it, that fine primitive word which comprises force, vitality, prestige, holiness, and power of magic, and which may belong equally to a lion, a chief, a medicine man, or a battle-axe.

Could the primitive fisherman get a line more to his taste than one endowed with the *mana* of the bull? 'Der Grieche sieht in Haar den Sitz seiner Kraft' is the opening sentence of the article 'Haaropfer' in Pauly-Wissowa. It would not be different with the bull. And then there is the crowning fact that bulls and oxen were infinitely more numerous than horses, and their hair consequently obtainable in abundance. And it would serve as well for bowstrings as for fishing lines. Even women's hair can be used to make the former, as for *ballistae*.[1] I have read how in an old Icelandic saga Gunnar bids his wife twist him a string of her hair when his bowstring has been cut in a fight. Even people as low in the human scale as the Aruntas can make human hair into strings.

But we have still to consider how this interpretation of κέρας suits the two similes. I suggest that it makes both perfectly and easily intelligble. In regard to that in Ω, Mr. Radcliffe quotes Monro (Vol. ii of his *Iliad*, p. 432; the artificial bait of horn is there accepted as very probable), who

[1]Smith, *Dict. Antiqq. s.v.* 'Tormentum.'

is surely right when he refers to 'the prominence given to the κέρας, which is spoken of as if it were the chief feature of the fisherman's apparatus.' It is not disputed that this is a case of deep-sea fishing, and that there is no rod, so that the line can certainly claim first place in the outfit. Again the word ἐμβεβαυῖα, which has had its share in the discussions, presents no difficulty. The verb is used as the passive of ἐν- or ἐπιτίθημι, just as ἐπίκειμαι is used in Homer of doors that have been shut, instead of the passive of ἐπιτίθημι. Eustathius, who gives ἐπικειμένη as an equivalent, might have added -ἐπι or ἐντεθεῖσα. The participle is used of the μολυβδαίνη, or 'sinker,' which, 'attached to' the line, draws down line and bait, and so is well described as ἰχθύσι κῆρα φέρουσα.

In connection with this same simile attention has been given to ἐπεστονάχησε in line 79, of the noise caused by the plunge of Iris into the sea, but we cannot infer from that that the fisherman plunges some big object like the horn of an ox into the sea. The word is outside the simile, and the simile does not illustrate it. The poet only illustrates the progress of Iris through the water, after she had sunk into it. The *Vergleichungspunkt*, as Ameis-Hentze say, is *das rasche Hinabfahren in die Tiefe*. The simile does not even illustrate her arrival at the bottom of the sea, for βυσσός cannot be pressed to mean that. Its much more frequent meaning is simply *profundum*, *Tiefe* ('depths'). That Iris went as far as the bottom is certain, for she came to the cave where Thetis was, only the poet does not say so. The points are of no immediate importance, except for the exact understanding of the simile, and, even if βυσσός be taken as meaning the 'bottom of the sea,' it suits perfectly the view now advocated. The sinker speeds through the water, dragging the line with it, until it reaches the bottom and rests there, while the bait takes a position at a higher level.

The simile in μ is equally intelligible if κέρας is translated 'line.' Scylla has seized six of the crew of Odysseus, and is conveying them to her lair, their legs and arms dangling helplessly while they are in the monster's clutches in mid-air. In that position they are compared to a fish which a fisherman has caught, at the point when it is wriggling on the line in the air before being dropped on the ground. All is clear.

The note by Merry and Riddell may be referred to. ῥάβδος is the rod. 'The line is not alluded to in so many words,' they say, but the rod implies it is there. It is there, expressed, the κέρας which the fisherman 'casts' into the water. Mr. Cunliffe in his Homeric lexicon gives for προΐημι, 'throw or let fall [fishing tackle].' Merry and Riddell take ἰχθύες ὀλίγοι, which some critics have strained at, in its ordinary sense. The fisherman is not fishing for the monsters of the deep, but for fish of a size that can be captured with an ordinary rod and line, and that would be scared by the splash caused by flinging in a horn or some object made of it.

The attempts to fit κέρας in the sense of 'horn' or 'something made of horn' to the various passages have little to commend them. Many, indeed, are no more than speculative suggestions. Some may be held to suit one simile but not both. The case for the sense of hair or something made of it seems, on the other hand, to have much in its favour, enough surely to deserve a reasoned answer. The first point in refutation should be a demonstration that the grammarian Herodian and those who followed him were saying the thing that was not, and that should include an exposition of the motive that influenced them. A full statement by someone well versed in the scholia and connected literature is required, πᾶσιν δέ κεν ἀσμένοις εἴη. And then there is the Homeric evidence, of which it may surely be said that it is remarkable, if the meaning now suggested for κέρας be not correct, that it should clear up, as no other does, the difficulty of some of the passages and supply a perfectly good rendering of the others. And perhaps the philologist will take a hand. Words with κ and ρ in them for 'horn' and 'head,' and also for 'hair' (κρωβύλος, κόρυμβος, and perhaps κάρ), are plentiful, but only experts can deal with them.

THE SPEAR

CJ XXII 621 ff.

In *Captain Cook's Voyages*, by A. Kippis, pp. 241 f., some remarks by Mr. Wales, astronomer on board Captain Cook's ship, are quoted on the use of the spear by the people of Tanna in the New Hebrides. He had often, he says, thought the feats of Homer's heroes with that weapon 'a little too much of the marvellous,' but, after witnessing what the Tanna men could do 'with their wooden spears, and those badly pointed and not of a hard nature,' he finds Homer's descriptions fully corroborated. He notes 'the whirling motion, and whistling noise, as they fly; their quivering motion as they stick in the ground when they fall,' and how the Tanna spearmen 'shake them in their hand as they go along.'

Many students of Homer must have shared this wonder, but, as one reads in modern treatises of ancient man and his powers, it vanishes. His was an open-air life almost entirely, and one to give him great muscular strength. Of an inhabitant of ancient Britain I read in Sir Arthur Keith's *Ancient Types of Man*, 33, that 'such acts as thrusting a spear from the shoulder, or hurling a javelin, would entail a great pectoral development,' and that, as a fact, 'the chief driving muscle of the arm was mightily developed.' Such a statement enables us to appreciate better Homer's οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι, and the scholiast's δεινὸν τὸ ἡρωϊκόν.

On page 329 of his edition of the second half of the *Odyssey* Monro thought that 'sending a spear through the back of a stag' (κ 161 f.) 'would be an improbable feat.' Andrew Lang, *H and A*, 230, refused to concur, surely with reason. κατ' ἄκνηστιν μέσα νῶτα does not mean that the spear went through the backbone, but only that it struck the back in its neighbourhood. See Scott on the passage in *AJP* xxxii 314 f. In discussing the case myself in *CQ* vii 237, I referred to *Ancient Hunters*, by Professor Sollas, 72 (110 of third edition), from which we learn that the Tasmanian aborigines could hurl a javelin, made wholly of wood and only fire-hardened, with a force that would carry it through the body of a man

at a distance of sixty yards. The *riesige Kraft* which Sittl (*Wiederholungen*, 42) desiderated was theirs! And Odysseus, we may presume, had a much finer weapon than the black. fellow's. That he was possessed of some prowess with the spear may be gathered from the boast in θ 229.

The meaning of this line, δουρὶ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος τις ὀιστῷ, used to be debated, but it did not emanate from a *Stümper* representing the hero as bragging that he could cast a spear farther than any other man could shoot an arrow; it is Homer himself making him say he could throw a spear farther than any other man could throw an arrow. See the note in *CR* xxiii 151 by Mr. Robertson-Luxford, who has seen American Indians throw an arrow sixty or seventy yards. *Ne damnemus quod non intellegimus.* That is doubtless a good throw of a spear. With the contrivance called a spear-thrower, in ancient days known as ἀγκύλη or *amentum*, the distance could be greatly extended. By this means Dr. Marett has seen 'an Australian spear flung 150 yards and strike true and deep at the end of it.' (*Anthropology*, in the Home University Library, 232).

The length of the spear astonishes the man in the street, especially when he hears that at times the Homeric fighter carried two. On this latter point all that can be said has been said by Professor Bassett in *CJ* xviii 104 ff. The second spear was an extra. Did the warrior drop one—for the moment—when he hurled the other? If he retained it in his left hand, that would not be conducive to free work with his right. Again, as the weapon was used for both thrusting and casting, were the two that were carried of different kinds, the one stout and heavy, the other, long, slender and light? A περιδέξιος spearman, as in Φ 163, would be a dangerous opponent to meet μετὰ μῶλον Ἄρηος.

Hector's spear was ἐνδεκάπηχυ, or about sixteen and a half feet long, but its length need not disturb us. I have a quotation from a work entitled *Forbidden China*, relating to the Lolos, a tribe of mountaineers, who are described as magnificent men over six feet, and skilful horsemen, mostly armed with mighty bows and arrows, and carrying lances twenty-five to thirty feet in length. I have also a reference in my notes on the spear to some statement by the late Mr. Roosevelt about the Zulu weapon, but unfortunately cannot

find it. This would no doubt be the assegai, a name which sounds new to us, but it 'occurs in Chaucer, though in a form (*launcegaye*) not easily recognizable' (Weekley, *Romance of Words*, 23).

ON TRANSLATIONS OF HOMER

CJ XXII 619 ff.

'I HAVE been particularly anxious to avoid the abomination of "Wardour Street" English.'[1] So writes Mr. Cunliffe in the preface to his *Homeric Dictionary*. He has done rightly; nothing could be more out of place in such a lexicon. Its author has used plain, unadorned language in his renderings, and the admirable way in which he has interpreted words and phrases is one of the best features of a most useful work.

When 'Wardour Street' is used in connection with Homer, one naturally thinks of the translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in which Andrew Lang had a part. There have never been better presentations of the epics to English readers, they will not be easily superseded, and their success is a sufficient reply to a sweeping characterization of their style as an abomination. Criticism has not been wanting, but Lang was not greatly perturbed by it. In his chapter on 'Homer and the Study of Greek' in his *Essays in Little* he says, after briefly criticizing the efforts of his predecessors, 'of other translations in prose it has been said with a humour which one of them appreciates, that they render Homer into a likeness of the Book of Mormon.'

I gather from the bibliographical note to the 1906 impression that this was written before the appearance of Samuel Butler's dreadful translations of the two epics. These were undertaken because—alas for his poor predeces-

[1]Perhaps the American reader will be grateful for help from H. W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*: 'The name of a street in London mainly occupied by dealers in antique and imitation-antique furniture.' There one may pick up an antique or two that will attract notice in his home. Wardour Street English is English containing 'a selection of oddments calculated to establish (in the eyes of some readers)' the writer's claim to be a person 'of taste and a writer of beautiful English.'—THE EDITORS.

sors!—Butler could find 'no readable translation,' and were made 'with the same benevolent leaning, say, towards Tottenham Court Road, that Messrs. Butcher and Lang have shown to Wardour Street.' He admits, however, that 'Wardour Street English has something to say for itself,' and, in his preface to his *Iliad*, that the version by Lang, Leaf, and Myers is 'the best prose translation'—though not readable!—'that has yet been made.' His attitude in fact to these predecessors was that of one ready to wound but afraid to strike too hard. For one thing, he was doubtless conscious of the ridicule which his own efforts would provoke, and as a fact there was no lack of adverse criticism. At times his rendering of passages of pure narrative is tolerable, but there is phraseology in places which is as alien from the ever present dignity of the Homeric style as could be imagined.

Lang's amusing last word on the subject will be found on pp. 10 f. of his *Translation of the Homeric Hymns*, 1899. After admitting that the method of himself and collaborators was, 'like all methods, open to objection,' he adds that 'neither precept nor example has converted him to the use of modern colloquial English,' and he declines to render a speech of Anchises thus (the reference is to *Hym. Ven.* 145 ff.): 'If you really are a mortal, and a woman of the normal kind was your mother, while your father (as you lay it down) was the well-known Otreus . . . and if you are to be known henceforward as my wife—why, then nobody, mortal or immortal, shall interfere with my intention to take instant advantage of the situation.' There is there an effective and not too bitter parody of the Tottenham Court Road appreciation of the Homeric style.

Lang said 'Homer is untranslatable.' A bishop who had been transferred to a new see was of much the same opinion. His financial transactions with his predecessor were not to his advantage, so much so that he one day surprised a friend by asking him, 'Why am I like Homer?' While the friend was pondering a suitable reply, the bishop answered his own question. 'Because I lose so much by translation.'

Let me add a curiosity, suggested by mention of translations of Homer and Andrew Lang. When he received the prospectus of Mr. Cotterill's version of the *Odyssey* in hexa-

meters, he sent it to me with the publisher's name and address scanned thus:

London | George G. | Harrap and | Company | Portsmouth Street | Kingsway.

I hope 'and' is not enclitic, for, if it is, the verse is divided into two equal parts. But perhaps it is like *καί*, which to the old grammarians was *προκλιτικώτατον*. The fifth foot is certainly a monstrosity, but I think it could be paralleled from German hexameters.

SAMUEL BUTLER AND HOMER ONCE MORE

CW XXII (1929)

NOT content with essaying to prove that the *Odyssey* was the work of Nausikaa, Butler propounded a view of the geography of that poem which was as novel as the chaplet with which he crowned the princess.[1] Briefly, his view is this, that the Scheria of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus was wrecked and subsequently told his adventures in perilous seas, is drawn from, and is, Trapani, in the western part of Sicily; that the Ithaka of the poem is drawn from the same place; that the islands of the poem are drawn, not from the Ionian Islands, as everybody had always believed, but from the Aegadean group of islets off Trapani; and that the voyagings of Odysseus were nothing more than a circumnavigation of Sicily, beginning and ending at the same place. Trapani is in fact the central point of the scheme; Butler's method was to discover there a certain number of local features corresponding to those described in the *Odyssey* as belonging to Scheria and to Ithaka. 'Four well marked ones,' he says[2], 'would be sufficient. Make it five and we may be sure,' and he finds the required number.

[1]For Butler's views see his work, *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, first published in 1897. A reprint of this work was issued, a few years ago, by Butler's biographer, H. Festing Jones. The work was briefly discussed by Professor Samuel E. Bassett in *CW* xviii

[2]*The Authoress of the Odyssey*, 159.

It is the old question of the force of circumstantial evidence. A famous instance from another familiar and never-ending controversy comes to one's mind at once. Macaulay, in his essay on Warren Hastings enumerated five marks which were to be found both in Sir Philip Francis and the letters of Junius, and observed that 'if this argument does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.' But the question was not settled, and there has not been an end of such reasoning. In the same way Butler calls on his opponents to 'bring forward some other place in which the same points of correspondence are found combined,' adding, for their effectual discouragement, that he was sure the attempt would never be made! Yet, not long after he wrote, investigations of the Odyssean geography were undertaken which provided a sufficient answer to his challenge.

The Scheria of the *Odyssey* had been the subject of many learned treatises, mostly made in Germany, and made with the object of proving that it was a fabled country that had never existed. Some still believe this. M. Victor Bérard, however, in his notable work, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, written after the most painstaking personal inquiry on the spot, came to the conclusion that Scheria is just the island the ancients believed it to be, namely Corfu. In this belief he has been followed by Dörpfeld; the view has been accepted and confirmed by other writers. These two authorities may be right or they may be wrong, but any reader of Bérard's book can satisfy himself that he has discovered as many identifying marks in Corfu as Butler found at Trapani.

As regards the Ithaka-Trapani equation, local marks to the required number have been found elsewhere, and not in one locality only, nor in two only, but in three. They are exhibited to the satisfaction of many in Thiaki, the old traditional Ithaka. Next, they have been found in great fullness, as those familiar with the literature of the Leukas-Ithaka controversy know, in Leukas or Santa Maura (to the north of Thiaki). Lastly, they have been found in Cephalonia, to the west of the same island. A Dutch gentleman, Goekoop by name, and a man of means with which at first he helped Dörpfeld, became an inquirer himself, and published his discoveries in *Ithaque La Grande*. It is interesting

to see how glibly and confidently this new participant in the dispute recovers one after another of the Odyssean landmarks in the island of his choice. In Butler's words he just 'hit on' Cephalonia, and Cephalonia had to do.

It is quite possible that other claimants as suitable may be found, since hills and caves and capes and coves, and even ancient remains capable at a pinch of doing duty as the residence of Odysseus are far from rare in these islands.—I have not had long to wait. The process of identification goes on, and since I wrote the above, Ithaka has been found in Corfu by R. Hennig, in the *Geogr. Zeitschr.* xxxiii 22. Still more recently Corfu has been identified with the Homeric Dulichium by Professor A. D. Fraser, who makes Thiaki the Homeric Asteris. No one so far has sought to violate the serene seclusion of Zanté, but a day may come when this will be done.

So Butler's bold defiance has been met. It will of course be open to his followers to assert that the Trapani 'marks' are superior, but that will be no easy task. There are other difficulties. I pass his reconstruction of the Great Wandering of Odysseus, on which volumes had been written and maps published before Butler wrote. Others have appeared since and continue to appear. The latest, and not the least striking —for example, the mysterious isle of Calypso is now located in the heel of Italy's boot—is by Dörpfeld.[1] The flood is not subsiding, and it is to be feared that Butler's identifications have been submerged by it.

But, apart from this, it may be asked why Nausikaa, if she is drawing the great islands of the west from the Aegadean group, describes them as lying off the coast of Elis in the Peloponnesus. The description surely cannot apply to islands lying four or five hundred miles away, and with all the bulk of Sicily between. Again, she represents Telemachus as sailing, between sunset and dawn, from the Peloponnesus to Ithaka (o 296, 495). That suits the Ithaka of tradition perfectly; to an Ithaka off the west coast of Sicily the voyage would have taken a Homeric ship four or five times as long. Yet again, does it not seem unlikely, *a priori*, that an ancient poet or poetess, would roll two localities into

[1] See *Homers Odyssee, von Wilhelm Dörpfeld und Heinrich Ruter, passim* (Munich Buchenau and Reichart, 1925).

one in the way Butler suggests? For early times the suggestion seems hard to reconcile with the principle which the men of old themselves approved, *haploun to palaion*, that is, ancient (literary) ways were simple ways.

The new view of Homeric geography propounded by Butler was received by the Homeric world with extreme coldness. Oblivion indeed seems to have looked it in the face without 'forgetting her mission,' for, in the welter of topographical discussion that Bérard, Dörpfeld and others have provoked during the last quarter of a century, it is rarely, if ever, referred to. It was a grievance of Butler's, though he himself was far from admitting it, that Sir Richard Jebb, in a new edition of his *Homer*, published just after Butler had promulgated his theories, took no notice of them.[1] In the Preface to *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, Butler remarks on the omission, and *more suo* turns it to account. 'I know very well,' he says (vii), 'what I should have thought it incumbent on me to do had I been in his place, and found his silence more eloquent on my behalf than any words would have been which he is at all likely to have written, or I may add, to write.' One pauses to dwell with amazement on the assurance that inspires these words. The silent amusement—or more—with which the novelties were treated is converted into a certificate of impregnability! A Frenchman's 'Pyramidal, hein!' is hardly too severe a comment.

Not content with disposing of these large questions, Butler set himself to give the world translations[2] of the epics which should at last be of the right kind, there being, he affirmed in his saucy way, no prose translations then in existence readable or 'even tolerable.' One of these despised reproductions was the much admired version of the *Odyssey* by Butcher and Lang, the latter of whom makes, in the Preface to his translation of the *Homeric Hymns*, a deliciously playful rejoinder to Butler's views on the translation of the epic. Lang, it may be added, dealt with Butler also in *Longman's Magazine* xx (1892), 215, xxx (1897), 276 (under the caption *At the Sign of the Ship*). In one of these papers he criticizes Butler quietly, till he reaches a reference by the

[1]Butler promulgated his theories before he published *The Authoress of the Odyssey*. Jebb's second edition appeared between that time and the publication of *The Authoress*.

[2]Professor Bassett discusses these in *CW* xviii 30-31.

latter to 'Mrs. Homer,' a piece of buffoonery which proves the limit of Lang's endurance. 'Oh,' he shouts, 'tell that Homeric lore to Ally Sloper's Journal!'

Butler's declared purpose in his 'Translations' was simplicity of treatment. But something more than that was required. The qualities of the Homeric style were stated, one might say authoritatively, many years ago by Matthew Arnold. One of them was the nobility of the language; the diction never, whatever the subject, falls below a certain level of dignity. No characteristic is more marked than this; surely it should be reflected, and not flouted, in a rendering in another language. Butler, on the contrary, seldom gives us the nobleness of the original, though there are passages which show what he could have done had his aim been different. There is even, especially in his *Odyssey*, a deliberate and frequent resort to expressions which would be in place in a version of one of Aristophanes's plays, or in a mere farce, but which in a rendering of Homer only displease and irritate the reader. The misdeeds of Penelope's wooers are 'scandalous goings-on.' The Cyclops, hurling a rock, comes near 'pounding into a jelly' the heads of the crew of a ship and its 'timbers.' The ogre himself is 'a horrid creature.' 'You precious gods,' and even 'you precious idiot' are other unseemly specimens. The grave Homeric formula, 'what word hath passed the barrier of thy lips?' becomes 'what are you talking about?' perhaps 'what *are* you talking about?' Surely a critic did not go too far when he charged Butler with the 'vulgarization' of Homer. In *CR* xv (1901), 221, Mr. F. M. Cornford, reviewing Butler's version of the *Odyssey*, observed that it could 'hardly be called a translation, unless it be in Quince's sense: "Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee, thou art translated!" . . .'

Another piece of Butler's Homeric work is perhaps worth mentioning, as not being so generally known. It will be found in his *Note-books*.[1] Though in substance a trifle, it is a genuine *tour de force*, for it is a translation into good Homeric hexameters of Mrs. Gamp's philanthropic outburst in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, beginning, '"Mrs. Harris," I says to her, "don't name the charge" . . .,' and ending with the request to '"leave the bottle on the chimley piece."'

[1] *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*, 313.

Mrs. Harris is described in the Greek, as a purely mythical being should be, in noble epic phrase, 'spouse of the godlike Harrisiades,' and the gentleman (Pecksniff) Mrs. Gamp eyed as she spoke appears, as 'Pexneiphos.' The Homeric commonplace is freely adapted to the actors and their surroundings, and the whole is much more palatable to the Homeric student than the reverse operation which had its inspiration in Tottenham Court Road.

Butler's essay, *The Humour of Homer*, has also found admirers. It is as clever and entertaining as all his work is, but spoiled to many by the—not to put it strongly—supercilious manner in which the efforts of his predecessors to understand the epics are treated. 'The Dons of Oxford and Cambridge from generation to generation' could not see what was obvious to Samuel Butler. 'But what else can one expect from people, not one of whom had been at the very slight exertion of noting a few of the writer's main topographical indications, and then looking for them in an Admiralty chart or two?' This is what he himself did at the British Museum, and forthwith all was light.

In a passage in his *Note-books* he named the great ones of the earth in all its ages whom he would like to meet when he passed beyond the bourne to the regions of the blessed. Among them we are not surprised to find Homer, author of the *Iliad*, and Nausikaa, 'Authoress of the *Odyssey*.' We hope he had his heart's desire, and can well believe that, when he and Homer forgathered in Elysium, explanations would be given and accepted, and that any rancour felt by Homer at the outrage on his *Odyssey* would be wheedled out of him, and would yield to bursts of hearty Homeric laughter. But we may venture to doubt if matters arranged themselves so easily on the occasion when ghost met ghost in the persons of our pert Homeric student and his 'headstrong' Authoress. It may be that for once the militant attitude habitual to Butler was subdued to the cooing of a dove; it may even be that he discovered *furens quid femina possit*. For we cannot help recalling his own words about her, that 'next to the glorification of women, she considered man's little ways and *weaknesses*[1] to be the fittest theme on which her genius could be displayed.'

[1]The italics are mine.

INDEX

I. General

A

Abstract nouns, 300, 341 ff.
Acarnania, 183 f.
Achilles, 79, 133
Aegilips, 44
Aeolus, 212
Aethiopis, 363
Aetopetra, 178
Agamemnon and his realm, 126–135, 159, 162
Ahijjawa, 238
Akastos, 186 ff.
Alkinoos, 205, 212, 254 ff.
Amphinomos, 59, 186, 192 f.
Anchialos, 100
Antinoos, 42, 192
Aphales Bay, 51, 70, 84
Apion, 430
Apollonius Rhodius quoted, 8 n., 47 n., 57 f., 72, 117, 271, 288
Appellatives, Greek racial, 297
Arcadia, 147 f.
Archaizing, 134 and n., 206 ff., 240 f., 306 f.
Arete, 205, 212, 257
Argolis, 146 f., 164
Argonauts, 72, 406
Argos, 140, 163
Arkoudi, 2 ff., 8, 9, 25 f., 38 f., 43 ff., 48 f., 49 ff., 73, 75, 82
Armour, 202
Article, The, 304, 366
Asteria, 46, 51, 75
Asteris, 2 ff., 10, 36, 38, 42, 49 ff., 242
Athene, 40 f., 132, 272 f., 394 f.
Atlantis, 248 ff., 293 ff.
Atoko, 3, 38
Audience, Poet's, neglect of, 210
Augeas, 190
Augment, 297, 318
Aulis, the assembly at, 116–126

B

Bellerophon, 163, 178
Besika Bay, 421
Boeotia, 148
Boeotian origin of the Catalogue, 107, 125, 168 f., 185
Bows, 431 ff.
Butler, Samuel, and Homer, 3, 254, 444 ff.

C

Catalogue of Ships, 15, 18 f., 75, 103 f., 106 ff., 125 f., 144, 152 ff., 167 ff., 171 ff.
Cefalonia. See 'Same.'
Cenchreae, 144
Centos, 371, 385 f.
Champault, 279 f.
Colchians, 288 f.
'Continuation' of the Odyssey, 303, 357
Corcyra, Corfu, 110 f., 252, 268–95
Corinth, 19, 108, 136, 137 f., 143, 157, 163, 175–9
Crete, 165, 232 f., 234, 248 ff., 251, 283 f., 402
Culture, the Homeric, 238 f., 403
Curzola, 279
Cyclics, 387
Cyclopes, 266 f.
Cypria, 103, 105, 132, 169, 363
Cyprus, 110 f.

D

Daskalio, 2 ff., 9, 12, 14, 30, 39, 41 ff., 46 ff., 49 ff., 76, 82
Datives, 307, 321 f.
Demodocus, Lay of, 256
Dervendjis, 405
Digamma, 303 f., 345 f., 351 ff., 365 f.
Diolkos, 145 n.
Diomede and his realm, 133, 137, 139 f., 142 f., 159 ff.
Dispersal of Peoples, 290
Discrepancies in literary work, 399
Dolicha, 5
Dolon and Doloneia, 216, 372
Dorian Thrust, 16, 26, 83, 94, 195 f.
Dulichium, 5 f., 6 n., 59 ff., 94, 184 ff., 188 f.

E

Earthquakes, 5, 76 f.
Echetos, 187
Echinades, 3 ff., 34, 54, 60, 100 f., 182 f., 185
Elis, 182 f.
Elysium, 247, 264 ff.
Emendation, 340
Enclaves, Territorial, 108
Enclitics, 349 f.
Epeioi, 60, 70, 99, 190 f.
Ephyre, 110, 138, 178 f.
Epirus, 276
Epithet, the Homeric, 382
Eumaeus' Steading, 13 n., 84
Euripos, 116 ff.

Eurykleia, 277, 393
Eurymachos, 192
Expurgation of the Epics, 203 ff., 231 ff.

F

Far West, the, 265 f., 403, 404
Ferrying, 34, 62, 92, 109 f., 195 f.
Fishing with rod, 427 ff.
Fleet must be kept together, 118, 125
Food, 206 f.
Formula, the Homeric, 382 f.
Fourth foot of hexameter, 311–317

G

Garlands, 207 f.
Genitives, 307
Gigantes, 266 f.
Glarenza, Cape, 4
Griffins, 263, 287 f.

H

Hagios Georgios, 92, 96
Hair, of Bull and Horse, 427 ff.
Hapax Legomena, 307
Hector, dragging of, 209, 212 f.
Hellas, The Name, 414
Hellespont, in Homer, 421
Hercher, 20
Herodian, 430, 440
Heroic poetry, origin of, 234 f., 239 f.
Hesiod, 168 f., 308, 364 ff., 387
Hiatus, 330–341
Higher Criticism of Homer, ways of, 123, 125, 152, 168, 191, 198 ff., 232, 236, 258, 296 ff., 308 ff., 320, 342, 353 f., 358, 370 f., 392, 401, 420, 426
Hissarlik, 421 ff.
Hittite Tablets, 201, 234, 237, 423 ff.
Horn, 427 ff.
Humour in Scheria Story, 253 ff.
Hymns, the Homeric, 308, 387
Hypereia, 287

I

Idomeneus, 123, 131 n., 133
Iliad as mirror of chivalry, 205 f.
Ilias Parva, 363
Incest, 205, 221
India, Illustrations from, 67, 69, 108, 135, 143, 146, 149 f., 163 f., 234, 239, 412 f.
Interpolators, Ways of, 122, 204, 222
Iolcus, 112
'Ionia,' the, 189 f.
Iron, 111
'Island' in Homer, 271
Isles of the Blest, 247
Isthmus, Law of the, 136 and n.
Iteratives, 366
Ithaka, Section I, *passim*.

J

Jealousy of the Gods, 209, 216, 292

K

Kechropoula, 91
Kephallenes, 60, 63, 92, 94 f., 99, 185
Kirke, 80, 86
Korakos Petre, 13 n.
Krokyleia, 44 f., 50 f., 75

L

Laconia, 148
Laertes, 395 f.
Laestrygonia, 80
Land, subsidence of, 65, 76
Language, tests by, 296 f., 299. Special test suggested, 203, 355, 359
Language, Unity of, 296–311
Larisa, 163
Lechaeum, 142
Lemnos, 118, 123
Leukas, 15, 17, 19 f., 22, 26, 59 ff., 70, 71, 78, 97, 196
Leukas Petre, 17, 23
Liburnians, 289 f.

M

Makri, 5, 35
'Mediterranean Pilot,' quoted, 41, 47, 54, 116 f.
Meganisi, 5
Meges, 5, 60, 180–96
Menelaus, 393 ff.
Menis, the, 302 f., 359
Mentes, 70, 110
Mentor, 42
Military Roads, 150 ff.
Minoa, 290
Minoans, 283 f., 404, 409. And see 'Crete'
Montague Rocks, 4 f. and n., 34
Monte Negro, 60
Mycenae, 127, 135–50, 165 f., 405

N

Narrative and Speech Scansion, 318 ff., 329 ff.
Nauplia, 136, 164 f.
Nausikaa, 245, 248, 257, 268, 291, 445 ff., 450
Nekyia, 371
Nerikos, 90–102
Nestor, 121, 132, 159, 160, 182, 191, 398
Newcomers to Ithaka, enquiry of, 16 f., 24, 83, 193 f.
Nidri, 15, 27, 82 f., 84, 97
Noemon, 34, 82, 100

O

'Odyssean' Books of the Iliad, 301, 320
Odysseus and his realm, 79 ff., 98, 101 f., 160, 181, 245, 255 ff., 260, 275
Odyssey, 80, 204, 213, 300 (Chronology of), 393–9

Ogygia, 80, 393
Optatives, 307
Orchomenos, 148
Oxia, 6, 32, 35

P

Palairos, 91
Pandarus, Bow of, 432 f.
Passage, the repeated, 384 f.
Paulatos, ΠΑΤΡΙΣ, referred to, 47, 73, 76, 81, 86, 196, 286
Peleus and his realm, 112–115. And see 'Thessaly'
Pelion, 113
Pelopidae, 129, 134
Penelope, 393, 396, and see 'Wooers'
Peoples of the Sea, 234
Perfects, 306
Periploi and 'Nautical Instructions,' 58, 89 f., 278
Phaeacians, 246 f., 268 ff. And see 'Scheria'
Pheae, 3
Pherae, 115, 393
Philistines, 408
Phoenicians, 139, 284
Phrase, the repeated, 383 f., 435 f.
Phthia, 114
Phyleus, 190 f.
Physical Changes, 21, 108, 119, 183
Piracy, 40, 110, 404
Pisistratus, 202
Place-names, 414
Plagia, 91
Poet, ways and personal knowledge of the, 11 and n., 20, 28, 30, 41, 50, 52, 55, 62, 65 ff., 230, 240, 369, 398 f.
Poisoned Arrows, 205
Polis, 2, 5, 13 and n., 56, 68
Poseidon, 272 f., 290 f., 292
Prehistoric Civilization, 232 ff., 411
Prepositions, 305
Pseudo-Archaisms, 307

R

Recitation, 335 f.
Reichel, 202
Rendezvous of Greek Fleet, 118
Repetitions, 357–392
Rhadamanthys, 252, 264 f.
Rheithron, 33, 84
Robert, Carl, 202

S

Saga and *Sagenverschiebungen*, 200 f., 230, 237, 238, 367, 419
S. Andrea, 75
St. Andrews Foreshore, 77
Same, 69 ff., 78
Scheria, 111, 242–292
Scylla and Charybdis, 87
Sea transport, 149 f.
Seven against Thebes, 162
Ships, the Phaeacian Magic, 261 ff.
Sicily, 138
Sikyon, 141, 177
Similes, 217–228, 378 f.
'Singular and Plural' as test, 298 f.
Sisyphus, 405
Skydhi, 13 and n., 84
Sodomy, 222
Spear (the Pelian), 113, 441 ff.
Spirit of Greece, 229
Spondees and Spondaics, 324 f.
Strabo referred to, 5, 6, 10, 46, 60, 75, 85, 88, 101, 111, 165
Strongholds, rival, 141
Syvota, 26

T

Taphos and the Taphians, 100 f., 110 f., 176
Tartessos, 232, 242, 293 f.
Telemachus, Voyage of, 4, 13, 24, 29–36, 53 ff.
Telemachus at Sparta, 393–9
Temenion, 165
Temese, 110
Tennyson, repetition in, 373–81
Teucer's Aristeia, 366 f.
Theleia, 12, 39
Theoclymenus, 14
Thesprotia, 25, 26, 59, 186, 188, 275 f.
Thessaly, 104, 107, 156 f., 174
Tiryns, 140, 163 f.
Topology, 236
Trade, early, 136 ff., 143, 145, 147 f., 176 f., 233, 404 f., 420
Trade-routes, 37 f., 62 f., 412 f.
Tradition, 21, 28 f., 140 n., 270 f., 407, 409
Traditional Books, 204 f., 210
Transit Dues, 146, 166
Translations of Homer, 443 ff., 448 f.
Trapani, 445 ff.
Treaties, 135 and n.
Trepito, Cape, 4
Tritotrochaics, 347 ff.
Trojan War, 128, 238, 405 f., 419 f.
Tydeus, 161

V

Vergil's 'Catalogue,' 169 ff.
Vlicho, 27, 39, 84
'Vocalcontraction,' as test, 297 f.
Vromona, 35

W

Wall in M, 202
Winds and Squalls, 32, 55 f., 195
Women, taboo of, 217
Wooers, the, 42, 51, 60, 394
Writing, 235, 408, 415

II. Passages of the Iliad and Odyssey

	Page
A	
78	131
430–492	386
B	
108	127, 128
110–141	362
301 ff.	122 f.
360 ff.	121 f.
416	214
625	5, 182
633	75
635	74
Γ	
178 ff.	133
Δ	
109 ff.	431
330	95
E	
266	212
782 f.	219
Z	
116 ff.	36
318 ff.	361
456 f.	115
560 ff.	219, 221
H	
164–8	362
256 f.	219
323–6	361
370 f.	363
451 ff.	216
462 f.	363
Θ	
	301, 357–68
13–16	364
244	363
262 ff.	361
331–4	362
342–5	363
491	360
493–6	361
I	
	359 f.
14 ff.	220
17 ff.	362
92–5	361
K	Page
	302, 359 f.
32 f.	131
199	360
Λ	
15 ff.	133
99 f.	214
385	430
548 ff.	219, 222
558 ff.	226
M	
	220
31 f.	363
41 ff.	224
131 ff.	225 f.
167 ff.	226
N	
	220
389 ff.	219
420–3	362
439 f.	214
567 ff.	213
660–72	138
683	88
685–f.	189
Ξ	
10–27	160
O	
1–3	363
263 ff.	219, 221
376	363
618–29	209, 226
Π	
	220
3 f.	220
168 ff.	191
482 ff.	219
P	
	220
243 f.	222
448 ff.	216
657 ff.	219, 222
841	214
Σ	
298 f.	363
334 f.	215

Υ	Page
231	212
Φ	
336	215
485	222
Ψ	
24 ff.	215
780	435
Ω	
77 ff.	427 ff.
130	212
276 and 579	215
β	
70 ff. and 233 ff.	181
δ	
45 f.	220
535	220
671 and 844 f.	7, 10
791	226
ζ	
229 ff.	220
η	
84 f.	220
θ	
229	442
550 ff.	261 ff.
ι	
21 ff.	23, 30 ff., 71, 80, 84
κ	
147 f.	86
171 f.	441
194	86
281	86

λ	Page
411	220
521	423
μ	
73–100	87
251 ff.	427
ν	
274 ff.	25
ξ	
102	93
314–59	188
ο	
1 ff.	13, 33
68 ff.	395
295–300	4
π	
227	37, 62
356 f.	39, 40
τ	
165 f.	123
υ	
25 ff.	226
187 f.	37, 62, 92
217 ff.	93
φ	
346 f.	59, 70, 191 f.
393 ff.	432
ψ	
156 ff.	220
210 ff.	216
ω	
	15, 94
26 f. and 30 f.	131
303 ff.	187
355	95
377 f.	90

III. Greek Words and Expressions

ἀγχίθεοι, 259
ἄκριες, 10, 48, 82
ἀκτή, 81
ἁλιῆες, 93
ἄλλος, 318 f.
ἀλφηστής, 272
ἀμφίαλος, 22 and n., 81
ἀμφίδυμος, 8 ff., 46 f.
ἄν and κε, 305
ἀνάσσειν, 129
ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, 131
ἄνευθε, 23
ἀντιπέραια, 74, 100
Ἀπείρη, 276
Ἄργος, 128 f.
ἀρητήρ, 211

ἄφυκτος, 205
Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, 323 f.
βασιλεύς, 129, 132, 185 ff.
δῆμοι, 92 ff.
δρόμος, 81
δυνάμει ἄριστος, 131
ἐγγύθεν, 259
ἐδαΐζετο, 211
ἑκὰς νήσων, 3 ff., 13, 25, 32
ἐμαυτόν, 308
ἐμβεβαυῖα, 439
ἐπεπροέηκε, 33 f.
ἐπιωγαί, 64
ἐς, 305 f.
ἐσχατιή, 31
εὐδείελος, 81, 91 f.
εὐρυκρείων, 131
ἤδη, ἤδη νῦν, 394
ἧμαι, 395
ἤπειρος, 11, 81, 93
ἦσαν, ἔσαν, 342 f.
θοός, 3, 6, 34
ἱέμενος, 124
ἴψ, 432 f.
καλός, 308, 318 f.
κέρας, 427 ff.
κεφαλή, 211
κύνες, 263, 287
λιμήν, 42 f.
μέσος, 7, 64, 322 f.
μεσσηγύς, 63
Μεσσηΐς, 115
μετόπισθε, 23, 84
ναύλοχος, 8, 40, 64
νῆσοι θοαί, 3 ff., 34
νηῶν ὄχοι, 64
Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς, 323 f.
ὀλολυγή, 211
ὅσος, τόσος, 322 f.
παρνυπερτάτη, 23, 30, 84
παραπλήξ, 64
πᾶς, 23 n., 30 f., 130 n.
περίδυσε, 211
πῆχυς, 433
πικρός, 205
πόθος, ποθή, 344 f.
πολλαὶ νῆσοι, 130 and n.
πολυβενθης, 12, 25
πολύς, 23 n., 130 n.
πομπή, 260, 291
πορθμός, 7, 36 ff., 62, 63, 74
πορθμῆες, 93
πρὸς Ἠλιδος, 59, 70, 191 f.
πρώτη ἀκτή, 3 ff., 35, 75
-σσ- forms, 318
στονόεντα βέλη, 205
Σχερίη, 280
τελευτάω, 397
Ὑπερείη, 115
ὑπόσχεσις, 211
Φαίηκες, Φοίνικες, 280 ff.
χθαμαλός, 23, 81, 84 ff.

883.1 H766ZSH 24226

DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
Homeric essays. by Alexander S
883.1 H766ZSH L
D70345984%